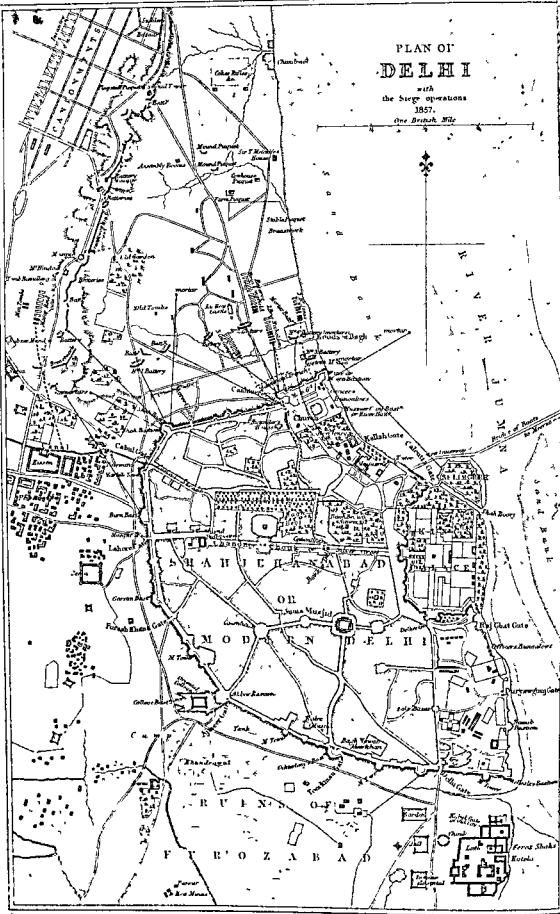


PLAN OF DELHI

with
the Siege operations
1857.

One British Mile

One British Mile



COMPREHENSIVE

HISTORY OF INDIA

CIVIL MILITARY AND SOCIAL

VOL. III.



INDIAN BAZAAR OR NATIVE MARKET PLACE

GLASGOW EDINBURGH & LONDON.

COMPREHENSIVE

HISTORY OF INDIA,

CIVIL, MILITARY, AND SOCIAL,

FROM

THE FIRST LANDING OF THE ENGLISH,

TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SEPOY REVOLT;

INCLUDING

AN OUTLINE OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF HINDOOSTAN.

By HENRY BEVERIDGE, Esq.,

ADVOCATE.

ILLUSTRATED BY ABOVE FIVE HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS.

DIVISION VIII.



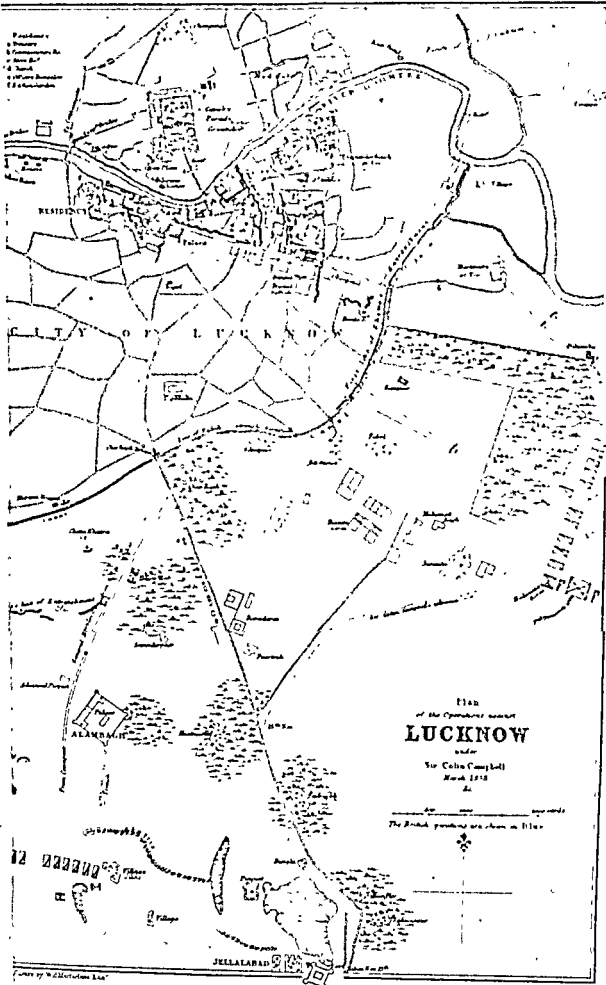
LONDON:

BLACKIE AND SON, PATERNOSTER ROW, E. C.;

AND GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH.

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- 1. Palace
- 2. Residency
- 3. Government Bldg
- 4. Town Hall
- 5. Victoria Memorial
- 6. Church
- 7. Bazaar
- 8. Fort
- 9. Railway Station
- 10. Cemetery
- 11. Park
- 12. Lake
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Plan
of the City of Lucknow
LUCKNOW
under
Sir Colin Campbell
March 1858
A.

Scale 1 inch = 1 mile
The British positions are shown in blue

administration of the Marquis of Hastings, but several events took place which on various accounts deserve more than a passing notice. The nominal administration of the government was vested in the Nizam's favourite Moonir-ul-Moolk, but the real power was exercised by the Hindoo Chandoo Lal in concert with the resident. The Nizam, indignant at not having the absolute control, allowed matters to take their course, and when asked for his opinion, sullenly answered that it was of no use to give it, as he had no interest. Chandoo Lal was able and active, but aware of his precarious position in consequence of the hostility felt to him at court, endeavoured to make friends there by a liberal distribution of money to all the courtiers or their retainers who possessed any influence, or could furnish him with information by acting as spies. So profuse were his bribes that part of them were said to find their way to the hoards of the Nizam himself, and Moonir-ul-Moolk, whose testimony, however, being that of an enemy, must be taken with qualification, said that the whole of the Nizam's family was bribed, every one of his own servants was in Chandoo Lal's pay, and even his own mother-in-law sent him a daily report of whatever occurred in the inmost recesses of his house. This system required an enormous expenditure, which the minister endeavoured to meet, partly by rapacious exactions, and partly by loans at exorbitant interest from the bankers of Hyderabad. The revenues were let to the highest bidders, and the contractors, intent only on profit, employed so much violence and extortion, that the cultivators abandoned their lands in despair, and both the revenue and the population rapidly diminished.

A D 1816.

Relations
with the
Nizam.

As British influence had placed and was maintaining Chandoo Lal in power, the supreme government felt responsible for his proceedings, and on the representations of the resident ordered a stringent control to be exercised over him. Among other sources of financial embarrassment was his connection with a mercantile house which had been established at Hyderabad under the firm of William Palmer and Co., and which, being recommended by Mr. Russell, then resident, had so far succeeded, in 1814, in obtaining not merely the permission, but the countenance of the governor-general in council, that he was instructed to show it every proper degree of encouragement consistent with the treaty with the Nizam. Chandoo Lal's pecuniary necessities soon brought him into intimate communication with the firm, and he obtained considerable advances from it. In 1816 William Palmer and Co. professed to doubt whether their dealings with the Nizam's government were not struck at by Act 37 Geo. III. c. 142. The 28th section of this act, proceeding on the preamble that "the practice of British subjects lending money, or being concerned in the lending of the same, or in transactions for the borrowing money for, or lending money to the native princes in India, has been productive of much mischief, and is the source of much usury and extortion," enacts that from the 1st of December, 1797, "no British subject shall by himself, or by any other person directly

Case of Wil-
liam Palmer
and Co.

A.D. 1816

Question as
to the
legality of
William
Palmer and
Co's loans
to the
Nizam.

or indirectly employed by him, lend any money or other valuable thing to any native prince in India, by whatever name or description such native prince shall be called; nor shall any British subject be concerned either by himself, or by any other person, either directly or indirectly, in raising or procuring any money for such native prince, or as being security for such loan or money; nor shall any British subject lend any money or other valuable thing to any other person for the purpose of being lent to any such native prince, nor shall any British subject by himself, or by any other person, either directly or indirectly, for his use or benefit, take, receive, hold, enjoy, or be concerned in any bond, note, or other security or assignment granted or to be granted after the 1st day of December next, for the loan, or for the repayment of money or other valuable thing." The violation of the law was to be treated as a misdemeanour, and the security taken for the money lent, was "to be null and void to all intents and purposes"

Notwithstanding the minuteness and stringency of the above prohibitions, it was expressly declared that the things forbidden were unlawful, only provided they were done "without the consent and approbation of the court of directors of the East India Company, or the consent and approbation of the governor in council of one of the said Company's governments in India, first had and obtained in writing" If the previous dealings of William Palmer and Co. were, as they themselves suspected, illegal, it is very questionable if any subsequent consent would have cured them, but they were naturally anxious to be in safety for the future, and succeeded on application in obtaining the requisite consent of the governor-general in council, subject only to the reservation that the resident should have full permission to satisfy himself at any time as to the nature of the transactions in which the firm might engage in consequence of the permission then granted. Backed by the countenance of the supreme government they extended their pecuniary transactions with Chandoo Lal, and in particular undertook with its full cognizance to provide the pay of the reformed troops in Berar and Aurungabad. The regular payment of the troops being indispensable to their efficiency, the sanction to this transaction was the more easily obtained, from its being asserted that the native bankers would not advance the necessary funds at the same rate of interest, or on the security of assignments of revenue.

William Palmer and Co. had as yet only been experimenting on the credulity of the supreme government, and on finding how readily all their requests were complied with, entered into a negotiation for a loan to Chandoo Lal of sixty lacs of rupees (£600,000). Their application for the sanction of this loan was forwarded to Calcutta by Mr. Russell, the resident, who recommended it on the ground that equally advantageous terms could not be obtained through any other agency. The loan, according to Chandoo Lal's statement, was to be employed in reducing the arrears due to the public establishments, in paying off heavy

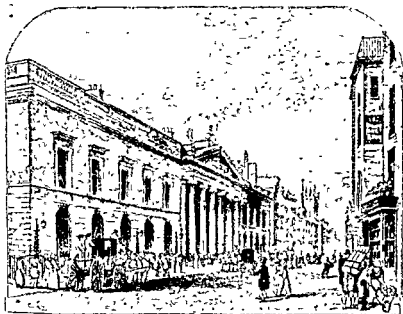
The gover-
nor general
sanctions
their deal-
ings

incumbrances held by native bankers and others, and in making advances to the ryots to enable them to cultivate their lands. The proposed mode of application was unexceptionable, but some degree of suspicion had been aroused, and the resolution to sanction the loan, opposed by two members of the supreme council, was carried only by the casting vote of the governor-general. This was particularly unfortunate, as one of the leading members of the firm of William Palmer and Co. had married a ward whom the governor-general had brought up in his family and loved like a daughter, and persons were uncharitable enough to suggest that the relation thus established had clouded his judgment, and gained his consent to an arrangement of which he would otherwise have been the first to perceive the impropriety.

A D. 1820.

Relations of
William
Palmer and
Co with the
Nizam.

In 1820, shortly after the sanction to the new loan had been granted, a



THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.—From a water-colour drawing in Library of East India House.

despatch was received from the directors strongly disapproving of the whole of the transactions relating to the firm of Palmer and Co., and enjoining both that the consent which had been given with the view of legalizing their proceedings should be withdrawn, and that in the event of any discussion as to the claims of the firm on the Nizam, the British government should not interfere to enforce them. In consequence of these instructions the firm was interdicted from future pecuniary dealings with the Nizam's minister. Had William Palmer and Co. been acting in an honourable and straightforward manner, they might have complained with justice of the severity of this sudden interdict and the ruin in which it might involve them; but when the real state of the case was investigated, their explanations were considered shuffling and evasive, and the so-called loan of sixty lacs proved little better than a fiction and fraud. Like Chandoo

Disapproval
of the direc-
tors.

A D. 1823.

Resignation
of the
Marquis of
Hastings

Lal they had represented the loan as an entirely new advance made for specific purposes, whereas Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had become resident at Hyderabad, had little difficulty in discovering, notwithstanding the mysterious manner in which the accounts were stated, that there had been no real advance, and that the loan of sixty lacs was nothing more than the transfer of a previous debt of that amount, claimed by the firm from the Nizam, to a new account. They had thus obtained the sanction of the supreme government by false pretences. As soon as the real facts were discovered, the governor-general became fully alive to the gross imposition which had been practised upon him, and characterized it as it deserved. For a moment imputations affecting the governor-general's personal integrity were whispered in some quarters, but another moment dissipated them, and the worst that could be said was, that from not exercising due caution he had allowed his confidence to be abused. This unfortunate affair is the more to be lamented from having brought the administration of the Marquis of Hastings to a close sooner than he intended. Mortified at the want of confidence which the instructions from the directors implied, and stung to the quick by the suspicion which some of their expressions seemed to insinuate, he tendered his resignation in 1821, and finally quitted India on the 1st of January, 1823.

His internal
administra-
tion

The political changes effected by the Marquis of Hastings, though they constitute at once the leading feature and the highest merit of his administration, ought not to make us forget the important internal reforms which he introduced into the various branches of the public service. Several of these reforms cannot be said to have originated with himself. Some were pressed upon his notice by the home authorities, and others suggested by such eminent public servants as Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Charles Metcalfe, &c. Still to the Marquis of Hastings belongs the merit of singling out those which were most worthy of being adopted, and making the necessary arrangements for carrying them into practical effect. In the judicial department the accumulation of undecided cases had become a crying evil, and amounted in fact to a denial of justice. The causes were sufficiently obvious—the undue multiplication of forms, which, though meant to secure regularity of procedure, protracted litigation, while the number of judges was far too small for the business allotted to them. A considerable diminution of the evil was obtained by shortening and simplifying process in cases where quickness of despatch was scarcely of less importance than accuracy of decision, and by increasing both the number and the emoluments of the native judges. At the same time the jurisdiction of these judges was greatly extended. Moonsifs, at first restricted to cases of the value of 50 rupees, were made competent to cases of 150; and sudder ameers, also limited at first to 50, were ultimately allowed to adjudge in cases of 500. Encouragement was also given to punchayets, a kind of courts where the judges acted as arbiters; and while both their constitution

Law reforms.

and procedure were regulated, their decisions were declared unchallengeable on any ground but that of corruption. In criminal justice the chief alteration consisted in an abandonment of the rule laid down by Lord Cornwallis, that the offices of collector and judge, or magistrate, were never to be combined. The native rule was the very reverse of this, and by returning to it, while the duties of collector were not seriously interfered with, a great number of criminal cases were summarily disposed of by judges in whose impartiality confidence could be placed.

A. D. 1819

Law reform
introduced
by Marquis
of Hastings.

In no branch of the public service was improvement more wanted than that of revenue. In Bengal no fundamental alteration could be made. The permanent settlement had been finally and irrevocably adopted, and the utmost that could be done was to enact regulations for the correction of previous errors, or to provide for altered circumstances. Among the regulations thus adopted under the permanent settlement, notice is due to those which checked fraud and precipitancy in the sale of land for arrears of revenue, and still more to those which gave to the ryot a protection which he had never before enjoyed, at least under the permanent settlement of Bengal. By an extraordinary oversight or deliberate perpetration of injustice, the sale of a zemindary abolished all sub-tenures, and the purchaser was entitled if he chose to oust and order off every occupant whom he found upon it. Instead of this iniquitous and tyrannical law, it was now enacted that tenants and cultivators having a hereditary or prescriptive right of occupancy could not be dispossessed so long as they paid their customary rents, and that those rents could not be increased except in specified circumstances. It was indeed high time to take effectual measures for checking all the forms of injustice and oppression which had prevailed in the collection of the public revenues. In Cuttack, in particular, though belonging to the Bengal presidency, and at no great distance from its capital, the abuses had become so intolerable that the people were goaded into a rebellion, which spread over the greater part of the province, and continued to rage from 1817 to 1819. The revenue exacted from the province, owing to the erroneous principle on which it had been calculated, was excessive. Under the Mah-rattas it had averaged little more than ten lacs, and these subject to numerous deductions. Under the British it amounted, without deduction, to nearly twelve lacs, afterwards so much increased by random augmentations as to amount, in 1816-17, to nearly fourteen lacs. Under this system of extortion arrears quickly accumulated, and many of the old zemindars, driven from their estates by sales not only forced but often fraudulent, were replaced by new men, who were hated alike for their rapacity and intrusion. After a kind of reign of terror had commenced, the people of Khoorda, who had been most mercilessly dealt with, found a leader in Jagbandoo, the principal military officer of the rajah. So general was the disaffection that in a few weeks he was heading above 3000 insurgents. The successes which he gained before a

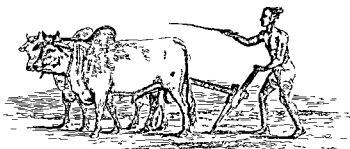
Financial
reform in
Bengal
presidency

Insurrection
in Cuttack.

A D 1819

Settlement
of Cuttack

sufficient force was collected to oppose him, were of course soon checked, but his adherents continued to act in desultory bodies, and tranquillity was not restored till effectual steps were taken to convince the people that their grievances would be redressed. In accordance with the recommendations of a commissioner, specially appointed, large arrears were cancelled, sales of defaulting estates in many instances suspended, and the amount of former assessments considerably reduced. On inquiry, many instances of oppression and extortion were established, not only against native officials, but their European superiors, who, if not directly guilty, had incurred responsibility by connivance. The former were justly punished, the latter displaced, and though Jagbandoo did not surrender till several years later, so little of the insurrectionary spirit remained that in August, 1819, a general amnesty was proclaimed. The lesson



A RYOT — From Asiatic Costumes.

of Cuttack was not lost upon the government, and care was taken, by searching out and correcting abuses, to prevent similar risings in other quarters.

Though the establishment of the permanent settlement in the

Financial
reform in
the Madras
presidency

ancient provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa precluded the introduction of fundamental changes in regard to them, a large field for experiment lay open in the ceded and conquered provinces. The permanent settlement, once eulogized as the perfection of wisdom, had fallen into disfavour, particularly with the home authorities, who had peremptorily forbidden its extension. The proper substitute for it was not yet finally decided, and the Marquis of Hastings certainly took the wisest course which could be adopted under such circumstances, by leaving the question open, and in the meantime taking active and extensive measures to acquire the knowledge which was necessary for its right decision. Among the temporary arrangements by which the revenue was to be collected, in the interval, the preference was given, particularly in the upper provinces, to the system known by the name of village settlement, which fixes a certain amount of assessment on each village or community, and levying the whole from one or more individuals acting as the representatives of the villagers, leaves it to them, subject to an appeal to the civil courts, to adjust the proportion due by each individual cultivator. In the Madras presidency, though the zemindars' settlement had been early introduced into the Northern Circars, the Company's jaghire, and the districts of Madura and Tinnevely, and the village settlement had also been adopted in different quarters, a decided preference was given to

A.D. 1823

The ryotwar settlement

another system known by the name of the ryotwar settlement, which found a powerful advocate and able administrator in Sir Thomas Munro. The peculiarity of this settlement is that it dispenses with middlemen, and brings the ryots into immediate contact with government. An annual adjustment is made with each individual cultivator, by fixing a maximum money rent, according to the quantity, fertility, and estimated produce of the land he actually cultivates. Should the sum thus fixed eventually prove excessive, proportionable reductions are made. The great objections to this settlement are the amount of labour which it entails on the collectors, and the constant fluctuations which it causes in the amount of revenue. In answer to these objections the advocates of the settlement hold out the prospect of being able in course of years to obtain such a correct average of the actual capability of each field, as to allow the rent to be permanently fixed, and thus render an annual adjustment unnecessary. In the presidency of Bombay the zemindary settlement was prevented by the impossibility of finding individuals who could be considered as zemindars, and the revenue was collected on no very uniform principle, partly by the village and partly by the ryotwar settlements, either separate or combined. Perhaps too much importance has been attached to the mere mode of settlement. The great point of interest to the cultivator is the amount which he is required to pay, and provided this is kept sufficiently moderate, the particular system according to which it is levied gives him little concern.

Increase of
Indian
revenue.

During the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, the public revenue of India was augmented nearly £6,000,000 sterling, the amount in 1813-14, being £17,228,000, and in 1822-23, £23,120,000. Much of this increase was of a fluctuating character, and the only part which could be considered permanent was the land revenue derived from the newly acquired or the increased productiveness of the old territories. The receipts of 1822-23 exceeded the expenditure by nearly three millions and a half, but an addition of nearly two millions and a half was made to the public debt, the debt bearing interest being in 1813-14, £27,002,000, and in 1822-23, £29,382,000.

Question of
recompense
to Marquis
of Hastings

The merits of the Marquis of Hastings were acknowledged immediately after the termination of the Nepaulese war, by the advance in the peerage already mentioned, and after the termination of the Pindaree war, by a grant from the Company of £60,000. In both these cases, however, it was his military merits only that were honoured and rewarded, but there had been no acknowledgment of the soundness and signal success of the policy which had made the British authority paramount in India, and conferred incalculable blessings on the whole country, by extirpating systematic plunderers, and putting an end to international wars. He did not receive this act of tardy justice till he had intimated his intention to resign. Then only the directors and proprietors concurred in a resolution expressing regret at his resignation, and thanking him for the unremitting zeal and eminent ability with which he had for nearly nine

A D 1825. years administered the Indian government. This resolution being deemed by the friends and admirers of the Marquis of Hastings a very inadequate recognition of his services, the subject was again brought under the notice of the proprietors on the 3d of March, 1824, by a motion recommending the court of directors to report on the mode of making such a pecuniary grant as should be worthy of his eminent services and of the Company's gratitude. This motion was met by another for the printing of all the correspondence, and other documents upon the public records, which regarded the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, and might enable the court to judge of the propriety of a further pecuniary reward. The second motion was carried, and some time having elapsed before the voluminous documents for which it called could be printed, the discussion was not revived till the 11th of February, 1825, when at a meeting of the general court it was moved that there was nothing in the papers relating to the transactions with William Palmer and Co, which in the slightest degree affected the personal character or integrity of the late governor-general. This motion was met by an amendment which, while admitting that the purity of his motives could not be impeached, approved of certain despatches sent to Bengal, in which the directors strongly censured the countenance given to the above firm. After a discussion, prolonged for seven days, a ballot was taken and proved in favour of the amendment. Here the matter rested, and a simple error of judgment (for it was now admitted on all hands to be nothing more) was held sufficient to justify the withholding of a pecuniary reward, which would otherwise have been bestowed without a dissentient voice, and which, if ever due to a governor-general, certainly ought not to have been denied to the Marquis of Hastings.

Motion lost for granting pecuniary reward to Marquis of Hastings.

CHAPTER V.

Mr. Canning, appointed governor general, resigns—Lord Amherst appointed—Mr. John Adam's interim administration—Lord Amherst installed—Misunderstandings with the Burmese—Commencement of hostilities—Expedition against Rangoon—Its capture—Subsequent military operations—Reverses—Sickness of the troops—Storming of stockades—Expeditions by water—The Burmese grand army dispersed—Operations in Assam and in Aracan—Mutiny at Barrackpore—Operations in Pegu—Capture of Prome—Negotiations for peace—Termination of hostilities.



BRITISH politics, at the time when the Marquis of Hastings intimated his intended resignation, were in an unsettled state. Queen Caroline had returned to England, and ministers, urged on by George IV., had reluctantly committed themselves to that great scandal known by the name of the Queen's Trial. Mr. Canning, who was then president of the Board of Control, had publicly

intimated his determination not to take part in it, and therefore, on the 24th of June, 1820, when, in consequence of the queen's refusal to submit to a compromise recommended by a large majority of the House of Commons, it was seen that the trial must proceed, he tendered his resignation. The king refused to receive it, and made it possible for him to continue in office, by leaving him at perfect liberty to follow his own inclinations with regard to the trial. Mr. Canning accordingly, though still retaining office, went abroad, and did not return until the bill of pains and penalties had been withdrawn. The unhappy questions connected with it still continued to be agitated, and Mr. Canning, feeling the incongruity of remaining in a ministry with which he could not act in a matter of the greatest moment, again tendered his resignation. This time it was accepted, and he once more went abroad. Being thus out of place when the Marquis of Hastings intimated his resignation, he readily consented, in March, 1822, to succeed him as governor-general. His preparations for the voyage were immediately commenced, and he had nearly completed them when the melancholy death of the Marquis of Londonderry threw open the doors of the ministry to him, and he resigned his Indian appointment to accept that of secretary of state for foreign affairs.

A.D. 1820

Appoint-
ment and
resignation
of Mr
Canning
as governor-
general



WILLIAM PITT, Lord Amherst.
After a portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

The office of governor-general having, thus become once more vacant, two candidates were put forward—Lord Amherst, whose conduct during his embassy to China, though it had received the entire approbation of the directors, had not yet been rewarded; and Lord William Bentinck, whose summary dismissal from the government of Madras on grounds which had since been considered insufficient, gave him some claim to the still higher honour which the directors now had it in their power to bestow. Lord Amherst was preferred, but did not arrive till several months after the departure of his predecessor. In the interval the office of governor-general devolved on Mr. John Adam, as the senior member of council. It was not to be expected that during this short and uncertain interregnum Mr. Adam would venture on any new measure of importance. All he had to do was to carry on the government as before, to complete any transactions which remained unfinished, and to take the initiative only when delay would obviously have been mischievous. Though inclined thus to regulate his procedure, Mr. Adam felt constrained, particularly on two occasions, to act in a manner which subjected him to some degree of unpopularity.

Appoint-
ment of
Lord Am-
herst.

A D 1820

Mr Adam's
interim go-
vernment

Mr. Adam had from the first strenuously objected to the encouragement given to the house of William Palmer and Co., and therefore lost no time in following out the orders which the court of directors transmitted on the subject. The debt due to the firm by the Nizam was accordingly discharged by an advance of the Company on the security of the tribute which they were bound to pay to the Nizam for the Northern Circars, and to prevent the recurrence of similar entanglements, the order to interdict all future pecuniary dealings with the court of Hyderabad was strictly enforced. The measure proved fatal to the house of William Palmer and Co. Had they alone been the sufferers, no regret could have been felt for their downfall. Unfortunately many individuals who had no share in their misconduct were involved by it, and complained, not without some degree of plausibility, that had less precipitation been used, and the firm been allowed to wind up gradually, the eventual loss might have been greatly diminished. The answer, however, is that in the affair of William Palmer and Co., Mr. Adam acted ministerially, and had no option but to yield implicit obedience to the orders which he received. In the other measure he acted more on his own judgment, and, we are inclined to think, with less discretion.

Bankruptcy
of William
Palmer and
Co

The press, from the difficulty of leaving it free while the government was absolute, had engaged the attention of successive administrations, and been subjected from time to time to restrictions more or less stringent. A regular censorship had at last been established, and no newspaper was allowed to be printed without being "previously inspected by the secretary to the government, or by a person authorized by him for that purpose." The penalty for offending was "immediate embarkation for Europe." At first the censorship applied only to newspapers. Earl Minto, during the whole of whose government "there appears," according to Sir John Malcolm, "to have been a very vigilant superintendence of the press," placed religious publications under similar fetters, and in 1813 directed, "not only that the newspapers, notices, handbills, and all ephemeral publications, should be sent to the chief secretary for revision, but that the titles of all works intended for publication should be transmitted to the same officer, who had the option of requiring the work itself to be sent for his examination, if he deemed it necessary." Sir John Malcolm, from whose *Political India*, vol. ii. p. 299, the above passage is quoted, lauds "these additional restrictions on the press" as evincing "the necessity of increased vigilance to check a growing evil," and yet, as if for the very purpose of showing that the evil could not be "growing," immediately bears the following testimony: "It is worthy of observation that from the time the office of censor was established, though there were never less than five newspapers published at Calcutta, in which every kind of European intelligence, and all matters of general and local interest, were inserted, there did not occur, from 1801 till 1820, a period of twenty years, one occasion on which government was compelled even

Censorship
of the press

to threaten to send any individual to England." In 1818 the Marquis of Hastings abolished the censorship. In reply to an address from the inhabitants of Madras, he thus stated his reasons: "My removal of restrictions from the press has been mentioned in laudatory language. I might easily have adopted that procedure without any length of cautious consideration, from my habit of regarding the freedom of publication as a natural right of my fellow-subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned. The seeing no necessity for those invidious shackles might have sufficed to make me break them. I know myself, however, to have been guided in the step by a positive and well-weighed policy. If our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion. Further, it is salutary for supreme authority, even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of public scrutiny; while conscious of rectitude that authority can lose nothing of its strength by its exposure to general comment. On the contrary, it requires incalculable addition of force." These remarks, however true in themselves, were not applicable to the circumstances, since the governor-general, though he speaks of breaking "those invidious shackles," and subjecting the "supreme authority" to "general comment," showed that he meant nothing of the kind, by issuing the following regulations:—"The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads: 1. Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the honourable court of directors, or other public authorities in England, connected with the government in India; or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration; or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the members of council, of the judges of the supreme court, or of the lord-bishop of Calcutta. 2. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population, of any intended interference with their religious opinions. 3. The republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India. 4. Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals tending to excite dissension in society." Assuming that, in the actual condition of India, these regulations, or at least some modification of them, was indispensable, it was obviously absurd to speak of the abolition of the censorship as equivalent to the establishment of freedom, and Sir John Malcolm states the simple truth when he observes, "by this measure the name of an invidious office was abolished, and the responsibility of printing offensive matter was removed from a public functionary to the author or editor; but this change, so far from rescinding any of the restrictions upon the press, in reality imposed them in as strong, if not in a stronger degree, than any measure that had before been adopted."

A D. 1818.

Regulations
of Marquis
of Hastings
regarding
the press.

Shortly after the abolition of the censorship, a newspaper entitled the *Calcutta Journal* was established by Mr. James Silk Buckingham, as proprietor

A D 1823.

Restrictions
imposed on
the press by
Mr. Adam

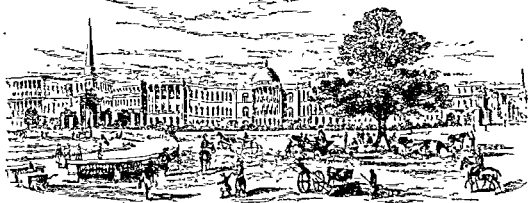
and editor. It was conducted with much talent, but much less in accordance with the governor-general's regulations than with the views which he was understood to have sanctioned in his reply to the Madras address, and hence Mr. Buckingham had been more than once warned that, unless he acted with more circumspection, he would forfeit his license to remain in India, and be shipped off for England. The governor-general, however, was unwilling to take a step which it would be impossible to reconcile with his rather high-flown sentiments on the advantages of free discussion, and therefore quitted India without carrying his menaces into execution. Mr. Adam, who was not restrained by any such scruples, signalized his short tenure of office by a kind of crusade against the press. Without venturing to re-establish the censorship, he obliged every printer to obtain a license before he could print a newspaper, pamphlet, or any other work whatever, and gave a practical proof of his determination that the regulations of the Marquis of Hastings were no longer to remain a dead letter by actually putting them in force against Mr. Buckingham and shipping him off for England. By this decided step he incurred much obloquy, as it was generally felt that the offence, which consisted merely in the insertion of a paragraph ridiculing the appointment of one of the chaplains of the Scotch church to the office of clerk to the committee of stationery, was not of so grave a character as to justify the severe punishment with which he visited it. The offence, at all events, was not of a kind which required to be immediately put down by a strong hand, and Mr. Adam would have acted in a more becoming manner had he refrained from using his short tenure of office for the purpose of displaying his known hostility to freedom of the Indian press, and left it to the new governor-general to deal with the offending proprietor of the *Calcutta Journal* in his own way. Though Mr. Buckingham failed to obtain redress either from the court of proprietors, before whom his case was repeatedly brought, or from the privy-council, who refused an application to rescind the press regulations, he never allowed the subject to be lost sight of, and ultimately succeeded in procuring compensation for his loss in the form of an annuity.

Murder-
standing
with the
Burmese

Lord Amherst arrived at Calcutta on the 1st of August, 1823, and was no sooner installed in his office of governor-general, than he found himself involved in hostilities with a new and untried enemy, beyond the proper bounds of India. The countries immediately beyond the Company's eastern frontier, after being long possessed by petty chiefs, from whom no great danger could be apprehended, had gradually fallen under the dominion of the King of Ava, the sovereign of the Burman empire, and a collision which had often been imminent had at last become inevitable. Assam in the north-east, Kachar in the centre, and Aracan in the south-east, along the eastern shores of Bengal, either formed part of the Burman empire, or were in course of being incorporated with it; and it was scarcely possible that a people so arrogant as the Burmese, and

unconscious of the extent of the British resources, after pushing their conquests to our Indian frontier, would be contented to remain there without attempting encroachment. Nor were plausible pretexts wanting. Aracan, though inhabited by a people identical in origin with the Burmese, formed an independent kingdom till 1784, when Minderagee Prahoo, King of Ava, taking advantage of some intestine dissensions, crossed the Yumadong Mountains, subdued it, annexed it to his empire, and placed it under the government of a viceroy. The new rule was so oppressive, that great numbers of the Aracanese or Mugs, as they were usually termed, fled from the tyranny which they despaired of being able to resist, and were allowed to settle on certain tracts of waste land within or bordering on Chittagong. Here many of them became

A.D. 1793.

Misunder-
standing
with the
Burmese.

THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AND TREASURY, CALCUTTA, from the Old Course.
After a drawing by William Prinsep, Esq

industrious cultivators, but more of them preferred to live as marauders, and retaliate, by means of plundering incursions, the injuries they had suffered.

In 1793, three chiefs, or, as they are sometimes described, leaders of banditti, fled across the border into Chittagong, and were followed across the Naaf by a body of Burmese, who had orders not to quit the pursuit, how far soever it might carry them, till they had captured the fugitives. The pursuers who thus crossed the Naaf were estimated at 5000, and to support them, if opposition should be offered, an army of 20,000 men began to assemble in Aracan. This violation of the British frontier at first only called forth a strong remonstrance, but the Burmese officer, while disclaiming hostile intentions, plainly intimated that he would not retire till the fugitives were given up, and to show that he was in earnest, stockaded his camp. Such a defiance aroused even the timid spirit of Sir John Shore, who was then governor-general, and a detachment was sent to compel the Burmese to retire. The beneficial effect of this decided step was neutralized by a promise that the British government, if satisfied of the guilt of the fugitives, would deliver them up. On this assurance, the Burmese officer withdrew, and of course was able to boast that he had

A Burmese
force crosses
the British
frontier

A D 1798

Peculiar
conduct
of British
Indian go-
vernment.

gained his point. This boast was fully confirmed when the fugitives, after undergoing the form of a trial, were pronounced guilty, and handed over to the tender mercies of their enemies. What these would be must have been foreseen, and therefore, however much we may be shocked at the dastardliness and inhumanity which consigned them to such a fate, we cannot be surprised to learn that two of them were shut up in closed cells and starved to death; the third contrived to escape. When the whole circumstances are considered, it must be admitted that the Burmese only drew a very natural inference, when they attributed the delivery of the fugitives to fear. At all events any doubts which they might have had on the subject must have been removed, when the governor-general, so far from insisting on any apology for the violation of the British territory, showed himself only anxious to conciliate the good-will of the King of Ava, and in 1795 despatched Captain Synnes on a friendly mission to his court.

Emigrants
from Aracan
claimed by
the Bur-
mese

During 1797 and 1798, the continuance of oppression in Aracan was followed by a vast increase of emigrants into the Chittagong districts. To prevent the repetition of a Burmese incursion and consequent misunderstandings, orders were given to check the emigration. This, however, was found to be no easy task. One party, when ordered to retire, boldly replied:—"We will never return to the Aracan country; if you choose to slaughter us here, we are ready to die; if, by force, to drive us away, we will go and dwell in the jungles of the great mountains, which afford shelter for wild beasts." Fugitives, amounting in the aggregate to 40,000, are described as "flying through wilds and deserts, without any preconceived plan, numbers perishing from want, sickness, and fatigue. The road to the Naaf (the river separating Aracan from Chittagong) was strewed with the bodies of the aged and decrepit, and of mothers with infants at the breast." It was impossible, without violating the dictates both of policy and humanity, to drive such multitudes to desperation by denying them an asylum, and the Marquis of Wellesley, now governor-general, appointed Captain Hiram Cox to superintend their location. Meanwhile the viceroy of Aracan had despatched a body of troops across the frontier in pursuit of the fugitives, and addressed a letter to the magistrate of Chittagong, in which he said: "If you, regarding former amity, will deliver us up all the refugees, friendship and concord will continue to subsist. If you keep in your country the slaves of our king, the broad path of intercourse between the states will be blocked up. Our disagreement is only about these refugees; we wrote to you to deliver them, and you have been offended thereat. We again write to you, who are in the province of Chittagong, on the part of the king of the Company, that we will take away the whole of the Aracanese; and further, in order to take them away, more troops are coming. If you will keep the Aracanese in your country, the cord of friendship will be broken." Mr. Stonehouse, the magistrate, replied that there could be no negotiation until the Burmese had

retired, and declared his determination, if compelled, to use force for that purpose. To this alternative he actually had recourse, but unfortunately without success, for the Burmese, who had erected a strong stockade, repulsed the attempt made to dislodge them. Further hostilities had become apparently inevitable, when the Burmese retired of their own accord, and the governor-general, who was fully occupied elsewhere, availed himself of their withdrawal to attempt an amicable settlement. With this view he deputed Lieutenant Hill on a mission to the viceroy of Aracan. The King of Ava, then occupied with schemes for the conquest of Assam, deemed it expedient to profess moderation, and sent an ambassador to Calcutta. The result was, that the ambassador departed apparently satisfied with the explanations and promises given to him. These were in effect, that all Mugs who could be proved guilty of crimes would be surrendered, and that in future no subjects of the Burman empire would be received as emigrants within the British territories.

A.D. 1811

Temporary
arrange-
ment with
the Bur-
mese.

The amicable settlement proved to be a delusion, for in 1800 the viceroy of Aracan demanded the unconditional surrender of the fugitives, and threatened invasion if the demand were not immediately complied with. Affairs of greater moment made it inexpedient to resent this menace, and therefore the governor-general, choosing to regard it as the unauthorized act of the viceroy, sent Colonel Symes on a second mission to Ava in 1802. According to the official despatch, he succeeded in impressing the Burmese court with full confidence in the good faith and friendly views of the British government, and received similar assurances in return, but subsequent information has proved this to be a gross misstatement. Colonel Symes was only admitted to a single and disdainful audience of the king, while the letter which he delivered from the governor-general was not even honoured with an answer, unless that name is given to a paper of questionable authenticity in which the subject-matter of the letter was passed unnoticed. Considering the circumstances under which the mission was sent, a better reception was scarcely deserved, and ought not to have been anticipated.

Emigrants
again
claimed.

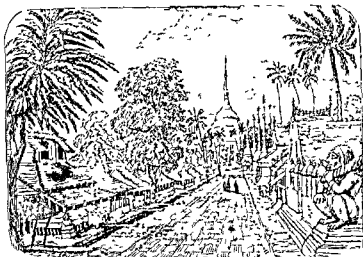
In 1809 it was ascertained that the Burmese had long been meditating the conquest of the British provinces of Chittagong and Dacca, and it is hence easy to understand how readily, before they even prepared for an open rupture, they availed themselves of the proceedings of the Aracanese emigrants, to keep an open ground of quarrel. And it is not to be denied that their complaints were often too well founded. In 1811 an emigrant chief of the name of Khyen-bran, usually printed in English King-bearing, collecting a large body of his countrymen, burst suddenly into Aracan, overran the whole country, and compelled the capital itself to capitulate; Earl Minto immediately despatched Captain Canning, who had previously been employed on two missions to Ava, to disavow all connection with the insurgents, and declare the anxious desire of the British government for the continuance of friendly relations. On arriving at Rangoon,

Complaints
of the Bur-
mese.

A D 1811

Embargo
on British
vessels at
Rangoon

Captain Canning found not only that a strong belief of British connection with the revolt prevailed, but that, in anticipation of hostilities, an embargo had been laid on the British vessels in the port. He succeeded in inducing the viceroy of Pegu to remove the embargo, but about the same time received a letter from Calcutta informing him of the invasion of the British territory by the viceroy of Aracan, and ordering his immediate return. This had now become a task of some difficulty, for orders had arrived from the Burman capital to send Captain Canning thither with his consent or without it, the intention obviously being to detain him as a hostage for the delivery of Khyen-bran. The envoy, by his own firmness, and the presence of two of the Company's



PRINCIPAL APPROACH TO THE GOLDEN DAGON PAGODA, RANGOON — From Moore's Views in Rangoon

armed vessels at Rangoon, defeated this project, and he succeeded in re-embarking for Calcutta.

Invasion of
British ter-
ritories by
the viceroy
of Aracan

The invasion of the British territory by the viceroy of Aracan had been the natural result of his successes over Khyen-bran, who, having encountered a large Burmese force, had sustained a complete defeat, and been driven back with his followers to their former haunts. Elated with victory, the viceroy, not satisfied with demanding the delivery of the rebels, intimated that if this were refused, he would invade the Company's territories with 60,000 men, and annex Chittagong and Dacca to the Burman empire. This menace having been met in a proper spirit, the court of Ava desisted from military demonstrations, and indicated a desire to negotiate.

While matters were in this state, a person arrived with a commission from the King of Ava to proceed to Benares, and purchase some of the sacred works of the Hindoos. This was the professed, but as had been suspected, it proved not to be the real object, for instead of purchasing books, he spent his time in intriguing against the British government. Shortly afterwards, another person

arrived with a commission to proceed to Delhi. The purchase of manuscripts was as before his professed object, but as it was discovered that he had no less an object in view than the formation of a general confederacy, for the purpose of expelling the British from India, the permission he asked was not granted, and an intimation was made to the Rajah of Aracan, through whom the application had been made, that on furnishing a list of the works and other articles wanted, they would be furnished without subjecting him to the trouble of deputing agents. Notwithstanding this somewhat ominous display of hostile designs, the form of negotiation was continued, and in 1813 a mission arrived at Calcutta from the viceroy of Pegu. The letter accompanying it was certainly not flattering in its terms. Among other things it informed the governor-general (Earl Minto) that, by surrendering the Mug fugitives and sending them to Ava, he might obtain the royal pardon for the numerous falsehoods he had written.

A D. 1817.

Insidious designs of the Burmese

Khyen-bran having in the meantime recovered from the effects of his discomfiture, had again collected a large number of adherents, and renewed his incursions into the Burmese territories. Earl Minto had hitherto treated the Aracanese refugees with great indulgence; but in September, 1813, having become possessed of a letter in which Khyen-bran avowed his intention to invade the Burmese territories, he deemed it necessary to put a check upon his movements, and issued a proclamation denouncing the proceedings of the insurgents, forbidding the subjects of the Company to give them any countenance, and offering rewards for the apprehension of their leaders. These measures were not very successful, and Khyen-bran continued his inroads with little interruption, till his death in the beginning of 1815. This event put an end to the border troubles, and to the consequent danger of an immediate collision between the two states, but the Burmese were by no means satisfied, and continued from time to time to reiterate their demand for the surrender of the insurgents. The deputies from the viceroy of Pegu had not left Calcutta when Earl Moira arrived to assume the government, but on finding that he was disposed to treat their application with no greater favour than his predecessor had done, they immediately returned to Rangoon.

Proceedings of Khyen-bran.

After the death of Khyen-bran, the depredations of the Mugs were seldom carried into Aracan, and some surprise therefore was excited, when, in the beginning of 1817, Mr. Pechell, magistrate of Chittagong, received a letter from the Rajah of Ramree, governor of the four Burman frontier provinces, written in a very bombastic style, and plainly intimating that nothing but the immediate surrender of all the Mugs would prevent hostilities. "The Mugs of Aracan," observed the Rajah, "are the slaves of the King of Ava. The English government has assisted the Mugs of our four provinces, and given them a residence. There will be a quarrel between us and you like fire. Formerly the government of Aracan demanded the Mugs from the British government, which

Threat of hostilities by the Burmese

A D 1818

Threat of
hostilities
by the
Burmese

promised to restore them, but at length did not do so. Again the Mugs escaped from your hands, came and despoiled the four provinces, and went and received protection in your country. If at this time you do not restore them, according to my demand, or make delays in doing so, the friendship now subsisting between us will be broken." This letter was delivered by the rajah's son, who told Mr Pechell that its contents were dictated by the king, and that they therefore did not require arguments, but an answer. The governor-general, on being made acquainted with the rajah's letter, instructed Mr. Pechell to reply to it in a conciliatory but firm tone, and at the same time addressed a letter to the viceroy of Pegu, in which, after observing "that the British government could not without a violation of the principles of justice, on which it invariably acts, deliver up a body of people who had sought its protection, and some of whom had resided within its territories for thirty years," he declared his confidence "that the enlightened mind of his Burmese majesty would perceive the inability of agitating a question, the further discussion of which could lead to no result advantageous to either state."

Policy of
the home
authorities

The relations with the court of Ava had in the meantime engaged the attention of the home authorities, and instructions as to the course to be pursued towards the fugitives had been sent out to the supreme government. In a letter dated 6th January, 1815, they say. "We earnestly hope that you have not been driven to the necessity of delivering up Khyen-bran, because we observe that every Mug who is suspected of being a partizan of Khyen-bran is put to death, and that a whole village containing about two thousand five hundred souls was massacred on this account, when neither men, women, nor children were spared. If therefore, for the sake of avoiding hostilities with the King of Ava, you should have been compelled to the adoption of this measure, we trust that Khyen-bran has been the single person delivered, and that none of his infatuated followers have been included in such a surrender." In another letter dated 19th May of the same year, after approving of a proposal to unite the Burmese with the British troops in suppressing the insurgents, they add: "We are pleased to observe that the magistrate was cautioned to avoid using language which might be interpreted by the Rajah of Aracan into a promise, on the part of our government, to deliver the chiefs of the insurgents to the Burmese, in the event of their surrendering themselves to the British troops." It is to be regretted that the home authorities subsequently abandoned these humane sentiments, and in the vain hope of preventing hostilities which had obviously become inevitable, gave orders that in future all offending Mugs when apprehended should be delivered to the blood-thirsty Burmese.

In 1818 the son of the Rajah of Ramree arrived a second time at Chittagong, and desired to proceed to Calcutta, to deliver to the governor-general a letter, which he said his father had written by orders of the King of Ava. Its substance was as follows:—"The countries of Chittagong and Dacca, Moot-

shedabad and Cossimbazar do not belong to India. Those countries are ours. The British government is faithless. This was not formerly the case. It is not your right to receive the revenue of those countries; it is proper that you should pay the revenue of those countries to us; if you do not pay it, we will destroy your country." This letter appears to have been written under the impression that the British government was so engrossed or rather overwhelmed by the Pindaree war, as to be willing to make any sacrifice sooner than risk hostilities with so invincible a people as the Burmese imagined themselves to be. Before it was delivered, the Pindarees and Mahrattas, in whom the Burmese expected to find powerful allies, had been completely subdued, and they themselves had sustained a defeat from the Siamese. Under these altered circumstances, the Marquis of Hastings, who had apparently resolved to leave the Burmese war as a legacy to his successor, fell upon the device of treating the offensive letter as a forgery. "By this procedure," says his lordship, "I evaded the necessity of noticing an insolent step, foreseeing that his Burmese majesty would be thoroughly glad of the excuse to remain quiet, when he learned that his secret allies had been subdued."

A.D. 1818.

Portions of British territory claimed by the Burmese.

The claim which the Burmese monarch made to the districts mentioned in his letter was probably founded on the recent conquests which he had made, and which may have been supposed to carry the adjacent territories enumerated as accessories. One of the most important of these conquests was Assam, situated to the north-east of Bengal, and consisting chiefly of an immense valley inclosed by mountains, and traversed longitudinally from east to west by the Brahmapootra. This territory, governed nominally by a rajah, but in reality by a council of three ministers termed *Gohains*, who claimed it as their hereditary right to appoint him and overrule all his proceedings, had fallen into a state bordering on anarchy. In 1809, the Rajah Chandra Kanta, in endeavouring to rid himself of the Boora Gohain, was worsted, and after applying without success to the British government, called in the aid of the Burmese, who furnished him with a force of 6000 men. The death of the Boora Gohain enabled the rajah to dispense with foreign aid, but the Burmese had no sooner returned home than their presence was again required. A son of the Boora Gohain had raised up a new claimant to the throne, and obliged the rajah to save himself by flight to the confines of Bhootan. The Burmese again reinstated him, but soon began to covet the territory for themselves. An open rupture hence ensued, and Chandra Kanta, unable to make head against the Burmese general, Mengyee Maha Bandoola, lost the sovereignty of Assam, which was henceforth regarded as a dependency of Ava. Misunderstandings similar to those which had prevailed in regard to Aracan and Chittagong were the consequences of this new conquest, the British authorities complaining of depredations on their district of Rungpoor, and the Burmese, without offering redress, insisting on the surrender of fugitives from Assam, and declaring their determination to

Probable sources of the claim.

A.D. 1823.

follow them beyond the frontier. The conquests of Kachar, which encompassed the British district of Sylhet on the north and east, and of Munipoor, which had been overrun by Alompra, the most celebrated of the Burmese sovereigns, about the same time when he added Pegu and Aracan to his dominions, furnished additional points of contact at which collision was to be apprehended.

The Bur-
mese bent
on war

For some years the vigilance of the British authorities in Chittagong had prevented any serious inroads into Aracan by the emigrants. The Burmese, however, were far from reciprocating this forbearance, and had in fact entirely changed the position of affairs, by becoming themselves the aggressors. People following their avocations within the British boundaries were slain, or carried off and sold as slaves, and these outrages were so openly encouraged as to make it plain that the Burmese, so far from desiring to prevent, were bent on provoking hostilities. Their recent conquests had satisfied them that they were invincible, and they believed that they had only to attempt the conquest of Bengal in order to achieve it. Their celebrated general, Maha Bandoola, on his return from Assam, is reported to have said, that if his sovereign wished for Bengal he would engage to conquer it for him with no other troops than the strangers dependent upon Ava; and according to another account, "from the king to the beggar, the Burmese were hot for a war with the English." Dr. Judson, the American missionary, who had resided ten years in the country, represents the prevailing feeling as often expressed in such words as the following: "The English are the inhabitants of a small and remote island. What business have they to come in ships from so great a distance to dethrone kings, and take possession of countries they have no right to? They contrive to conquer and govern the black foreigners, the people of castes, who have puny frames and no courage. They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmese, skilled in the use of the sword and spear. If they once fight with us, and we have an opportunity of manifesting our bravery, it will be an example to the black nations, which are now slaves to the English, and will encourage them to throw off the yoke." This feeling could not fail to manifest itself sooner or later in overt acts. There was no difficulty in finding a pretext.

Commence-
ment of hos-
tilities

At the mouth of the Naaf was the small island of Shapooree, which had for many years been possessed by the British as belonging to Chittagong. The Burmese set up a claim to this island, and on the 24th of September, 1823, a body of about 1000 men landing upon it, overpowered the British guard, and after killing or wounding several individuals, obliged the rest to save themselves by flight. The aggressors shortly afterwards retired, but as they had escaped with impunity, and nothing but an unavailing expostulation from Calcutta followed, the Burmese were confirmed in their belief that they had nothing to apprehend from British resentment. It was not, however, in this quarter that actual hostilities were to commence. In the north-east, a body of

4000 Burmese and Assamese, penetrating by the Bharteke Pass, encamped at Bikrampoor, about forty-five miles east of Sylhet, while a more considerable force advanced from Munipoor. A British detachment, which had been previously posted to guard the Sylhet frontier, advanced upon Bikrampoor, and finding the Burmese engaged in completing a stockade, attacked them and put them to rout. The detachment was too feeble to follow up this advantage; and on its retiring within the British boundary, the two bodies of Burmese, amounting in all to about 6000, effected a junction, advanced to Jatrappoor, constructed stockades on both sides of the Surma, and advanced along its north bank till within 1000 yards of a British post at Bhadrappoor. Captain Johnstone, the officer in command, immediately attacked them, and carried the stockades at the point of the bayonet. The division from Assam was driven back in disorder into that territory; the division from Manipoor managed better, and defended their stockade on the Surma so successfully that the British were obliged to retire.

A. D. 1824.

Hostilities commenced with Burmah

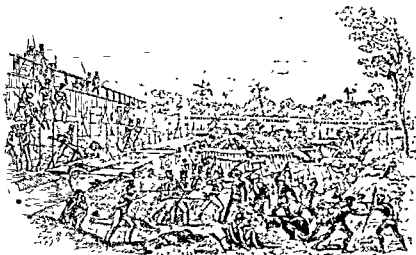
While hostilities had thus actually commenced in the north, they were about to commence in Aracan. The rajah who governed there had received orders to expel the British from Shapooree, be the cost what it might, and Maha Bandoola, the most celebrated of the Burmese generals, was appointed to the chief command. The island was in consequence once more seized, and the governor-general, unable any longer to put off the evil day by additional procrastination, had no alternative but to publish a declaration of war. This document, published on the 24th of February, 1824, is far too long to admit of quotation or even analysis. After a full detail of the circumstances, it charges the court of Ava with having "grossly and wantonly violated the relations of friendship so long established between the two states," and with having "compelled the British government to take up arms, not less in self-defence than for the assertion of its rights and the vindication of its insulted dignity and honour," and concludes as follows: "Anxious, however, to avert the calamities of war, and retaining an unfeigned desire to avail itself of any proper opening which may arise for an accommodation of differences with the King of Ava, before hostilities shall have been pushed to an extreme length, the British government will be prepared even yet to listen to pacific overtures on the part of his Burmese majesty, provided that they are accompanied with the tender of an adequate apology, and involve the concession of such terms as are indispensable to the future security and tranquillity of the eastern frontier of Bengal."

Governor-general's declaration of war.

In forming the plan of military operations it was necessary to take into consideration the nature of the country, and the mode of warfare practised by the enemy. The country was almost a continuous tract of forest and marsh, completely inundated at certain seasons, and at all times teeming with vapour which made the atmosphere almost pestilential; and so little was known of the geography that, with the exception of a few narrow belts of land along the

A D 1824 coast, or the banks of navigable rivers, it was entirely unexplored. To lead an army through such a country, even if the population had been friendly, would have been a task of no ordinary difficulty; but to force a passage through it, where all the available routes were occupied by an enemy possessed both of skill and courage, and prepared to meet their assailants with a murderous fire from behind trenches and stockades, so strongly constructed as to form, in fact, a continuous series of forts, was an enterprise, the difficulties of which afford the best explanation of the reluctance of successive governors-general to engage in it. It was a knowledge of these difficulties, and confidence in their peculiar mode of warfare, that made the Burmese so anxious to provoke an encounter. The Prince of Tharawadee, the brother of the King of Ava, when told that the Burmese soldiers could not cope with the British, replied, "We are skilled in

Plan of military operations for approaching Burmese campaign.



STORMING OF A STOCKADE, RANGOON.—From Moore's Views in Rangoon

Burmese mode of warfare

making trenches and stockades, which the English do not understand;" and there cannot be a doubt that to this skill they were mainly indebted for any successes which they obtained in the course of the war. Every individual soldier carried a spade or hoe as an essential part of his military equipment. With this, as the line advanced, he dug a hole, from which he fired away under cover till a nearer approach unearthed him. It was only, however, to retire to much better protection within his stockades. These usually formed complete inclosures of a square or oblong shape, varying in height from ten to twenty feet, constructed sometimes of solid beams of timber, previously prepared, and sometimes of bamboos and young wood in a green state. The whole firmly and closely planted in the ground, and bound together at the top by transverse beams, with no more openings than were necessary for embrasures and loop-holes, formed a defensive work which did not yield readily to an ordinary cannonade, and was most effectually assailed by shells and rockets

Within the interior, platforms were fixed or embankments thrown up, on which A D 1821.
 gingsals, or small guns, carrying a ball of six or twelve ounces, were planted, and occasionally, to increase the difficulty of access to the main work, it had the additional protection of outer and inner ditches, and of minor stockades, abattis, and similar outworks.

In arranging the plan of a campaign in a country presenting such physical features, and against troops pursuing such a system of military tactics, the most advisable course seemed to be to avoid, as much as possible, the difficulties and tediousness of land routes, and endeavour to reach the interior by water. No doubt was entertained as to the practicability of the latter plan. The capital and other chief cities of the Burman empire were situated on the Irawadi, which, if the proper season were chosen, might be ascended by a flotilla conveying troops for a distance of 500 miles in about six weeks. In this direction, therefore, it was determined that the main effort should be made; and that, in the meantime, little more should be attempted in other quarters than to keep the enemy at bay and check his further progress. This plan, though adopted by the supreme government in the absence of Sir Edward Paget, the commander-in-chief, was cordially approved by him before any actual steps were taken. The adjutant-general, writing in his name, says:—"The commander-in-chief can hardly persuade himself that if we place our frontier in even a tolerable state of defence, any serious attempt will be made by the Burmese to pass it; but should he be mistaken in this opinion, he is inclined to hope that our military operations on the eastern frontier will be confined to their expulsion from our territories, and to the re-establishment of those states along the line of frontier which have been overrun and captured by the Burmese. Any military attempt beyond this, upon the internal dominions of the King of Ava, he is inclined to deprecate, as in place of armies, fortresses, and cities, he is led to believe we should find nothing but jungle, pestilence, and famine. It appears to the commander-in-chief that the only effectual mode of punishing the insolence of this power is by maritime means."

Plan of
Burmese
campaign.

In supplying troops to the maritime expedition, Bengal very imperfectly performed its part. The aversion of the sepoys to a sea voyage could only have been overcome by forcing their inclinations, and as this was judged inexpedient, this presidency furnished only his Majesty's 13th and 38th regiments, two companies of artillery, and the 40th regiment of native infantry. Madras, where the sepoy objection did not exist to the same extent, and was perhaps in some degree overcome by the energy and popularity of Sir Thomas Munro the governor, furnished a much larger force, consisting of his Majesty's 41st and 89th regiments, the Madras European regiment, and seven native regiments, with detachments of pioneers and artillery. The whole force, mustering upwards of 11,000 men, about one half Europeans, was placed under the command of Major-general Sir Archibald Campbell. Under him Colonel

British & sea
employed.

A D 1824

Arrival of
British fleet
off Rangoon

M'Creagh commanded the Bengal, and Colonel Macbean the Madras division. The naval force consisted of the sloops of war *Larne* and *Sophia*, with several of the Company's cruisers, having the transports in convoy, a flotilla of twenty gun-brigs and twenty war-boats, each carrying a piece of heavy ordnance, and the *Diana*, a small steam-vessel, which, as she was the first of the kind seen on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, was regarded by the natives with wonder and superstitious terror, when they saw her without sails or oars, moving against wind and tide by some mysterious agency. Captain Canning accompanied the expedition as political agent and joint-commissioner with the commander-in-chief. Port Cornwallis, situated near the north-east extremity of the Great Andaman Island, was the appointed place of rendezvous. The



SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, Bart
After a picture by J. Wood.

Bengal, and the first part of the Madras force, met here in the end of April, 1824, and having been joined by Commodore Grant, the chief naval officer in the Indian seas, in the *Liffey* frigate, sailed north-east on the 5th of May, and on the 9th, to the great astonishment and alarm of the Burmese, who appear never to have dreamed of an attack in this quarter, arrived off the mouths of the Irawadi.

The Irawadi rises near the eastern extremity of the Himalaya, on the frontiers of Assam, and after a southern course of about 1000 miles, falls into the Bay of Bengal. Like the Ganges, it has a large delta, at the upper extremity

The Irawadi. of which it divides into a number of branches. These opening into one another, form a kind of net-work across the delta, and carry off so much of the water that the main stream may be said to disappear. The two principal branches are the Bassein on the west, and the Rangoon on the east, each of them so called from an important town of the same name situated on its banks. Rangoon, the larger of the two towns, and the chief port of Burmah, stood on the left bank, about twenty-five miles from the sea, in a fork formed by two branches, the one of which flows eastward under the name of the Syriam, while the other, continuing the river of Rangoon, properly so called, flows south to the sea. Its width at Rangoon was nearly half a mile, and on its opposite bank stood a town of some extent called Dalla.

On the 11th of May, the expedition sailed up the river, and anchored opposite to Rangoon. Its defences, consisting only of a stockade about twelve feet high, which inclosed it on every side, and of a principal battery of twelve

guns, situated on a wharf at the river side, were far too feeble to offer any effectual resistance. After a few shots from the battery, which the *Liffey* instantly silenced, the troops landed and took possession of the town without seeing an enemy. When the firing commenced, the governor sent an American missionary to ask what the English wanted, and threatening, if the fire did not cease, to put to death such Europeans as were in his hands. These so-called Europeans were eight British traders and pilots, two American missionaries, an Armenian, and a Greek. His fears prevented him from carrying out his murderous threat, and he fled, leaving his prisoners behind him. These, to the surprise and disappointment of the victors, proved to be the only inhabitants remaining in Rangoon. The whole population had been ordered to retire into the adjacent forests, and not a man had ventured to disobey.

A D. 1824.

Attack and capture of Rangoon.

This total desertion of the city was an event which the British had never anticipated, and against which consequently they had made no provision. Knowing that Pegu, the province in which Rangoon is situated, was a comparatively recent conquest of the Burmese, and that the inhabitants were by no means satisfied with their new masters, they had expected to be hailed as deliverers, and to have all the resources of a productive country placed at their disposal, whereas they now found that no assistance whatever would be given to them, and that they must depend entirely upon themselves for supplies. Under such circumstances, an advance into the interior was at once seen to be impracticable. With the view of taking advantage of the augmented volume of water in the river, they had arrived at the very commencement of the rainy season, when the greater part of the country would become inundated, and instead of carrying on a decisive campaign, it would be necessary to remain shut up in Rangoon, or at least to confine military operations to its immediate vicinity. Considerations which had been previously overlooked now forced themselves into view, and it became impossible not to admit that in the arrangement of the campaign serious blunders had been committed. The attack by sea, if advisable at all, was ill-timed. An attempt to ascend the river in incommodious boats during the tropical rains, without native boatmen to guide them, and while both banks were in possession of the enemy, would only be to invite destruction; and yet, to remain cooped up among the swamps of the delta, was to expose the troops to a mortality which, while it gave none of the triumphs of actual warfare, could hardly fail to be far more destructive. No choice, however, remained, and it was resolved to place the troops under cover, and use all despatch in obtaining the necessary provisions and supplies from India.

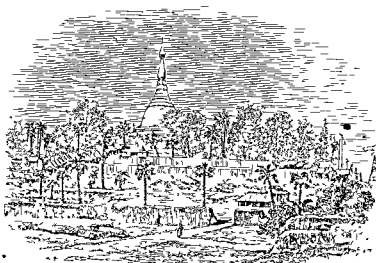
Error in the plan of campaign

The stockades of Rangoon, though a feeble defence against a British force, were a sufficient protection against any sudden onset of the natives, and no new works therefore were required for security. The more commodious and substantial of the buildings were appropriated for the head-quarters and general

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The Shwe
da gon, or
Golden
Pagoda.

staff, and for the stores and ammunition. About two miles to the north of Rangoon, on an artificial mound about thirty feet high, stood a famous Buddhist temple, called Shwe-da-gon, or the Golden Pagoda, solidly built of brick, on an octagonal base, coated with gilding, decorated with ornamental mouldings, and rising in the form of a cone gradually tapering to a spire to the height of above 300 feet. This temple being, like the town, entirely abandoned, was taken possession of by his Majesty's 69th regiment and the Madras artillery; the rest of the troops found convenient cantonments in a number of small temples and priests' residences, lining two roads which led from the northern gateway of the town to the pagoda. During the completion of these arrangements, detachments explored the neighbourhood, and parties proceeded up the river in boats for the purpose of reconnoitring and destroying any defences or



THE SWE DA GON PAGODA, RANGOON.—FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

Successes of the British. fire rafts which they might discover. One of these parties came upon an unfinished stockade at Kemendine, about sixty miles above Rangoon, and having landed, gallantly carried it, though not without some loss, against a very superior force. On the same day a considerable detachment, sent some distance into the interior, fell in with the governor of Rangoon, who, instead of risking an encounter, fled into the adjoining forest. While these successes gave reason to believe that Burmese courage was not of a high order, there were numerous indications of their activity in preparing for a future struggle, and of their determination not to allow their invaders to remain long at ease in their cantonments. About the middle of May the rains set in, and the whole of the country around Rangoon became one vast sheet of water.

While the expedition was preparing to proceed against Rangoon, a force collected under Brigadier-general M'Morine at Goalpara, on the Brahmapootra, near the frontiers of Assam, moved eastward on the 13th of March, 1824, to

Gowhatty, where the Burmese had thrown up stockades. They did not, however, venture to defend them, and retired as the British approached. The population, who had been cruelly treated by their Burmese masters, were eager to throw off the yoke, and manifested a most friendly disposition; but as they were too poor to furnish the necessary supplies, and the transport of these was, from the nature of the country, a work of the utmost difficulty, it was necessary, instead of advancing with the whole force, to send forward a detachment under Colonel Richards to Nowgong to meet Mr. Scott, the commissioner, who had arrived there with an escort. From Nowgong, Colonel Richards proceeded to Kaliabar, and thence eastward to Maura Mukh, where the governor of Assam was stockaded with a force of about 1000 men. The favourable opportunity of striking a blow which would probably have liberated the whole of Upper Assam, was abandoned from want of supplies, and Colonel Richards, thus obliged to renounce the advantage of his previous successes, returned to Gowhatty to pass the rainy season.

A D 1824.

Land force
in the north.

In June, the Burmese, who had in the beginning of the year retired from Kachar, returned with a force estimated at 8000 men, and began to make incursions from Munipoor, stockading themselves on the heights of Talain, Dudpatlee, and Jatrapoor. The force left in Sylhet was far too feeble to offer any effectual opposition to them, and an attempt to dislodge them from a stockade at Talain proved a failure. A retreat followed, and the Burmese, elated with success, remained in undisputed possession of Kachar till the season should allow the campaign to be again opened.

Proceedings
in Kachar
and Muni-
poor

In Aracan, the original seat of their aggression, the Burmese appear to have made their main effort; and in the beginning of May, when the British were surprising them at Rangoon, they were effecting an almost equal surprise by appearing on the frontiers of Chittagong with a force of more than 10,000 men, commanded by the renowned Maha Bandoola. The force prepared to resist this invasion was wholly inadequate, but the Bengal government, though made aware of the threatened danger, made no additional effort to avert it. Whatever may have been the cause of this great negligence, it was severely punished. Colonel Shapland, holding the command in Chittagong, had pushed forward to Ramoo a detachment under Captain Noton, consisting of five companies of the 45th native infantry, with two guns, and details from a Mug levy and the Chittagong provincial battalion. Against this detachment, the Burmese, after crossing the Naaf, rapidly advanced with their whole concentrated force, and on the 13th of May arrived at a stream flowing past Ramoo. Captain Noton's two guns, well served, prevented their passage for some time, but they at last effected it, and hastened to attack him. His whole force consisted of about 1050 men, but of these 650 were irregulars, on whom no dependence could be placed. Having posted his troops behind a bank surrounding the encampment, with his right flanked by the river, his front formed by the regular sepoys with the

Invasion of
Chittagong
by the Bur-
mese

A D 1824.

two six-pounders, and protected by a tank, at which a strong picket was stationed, and his rear protected by another tank, which was given in charge to the provincials and the Mug levy, he waited the encounter. After a short struggle, the provincials and Mugs gave way, and the Burmese, making their way into the rear, rendered the position untenable. Of necessity a retreat was ordered. At first it was conducted with some degree of regularity, but ultimately, as the enemy pressed on with increasing boldness, the men threw down their arms and rushed into the water. The loss was less than might have been expected. Only about 250 in all were missing, but not a few of these, carried off as prisoners to Ava, confirmed that court in the belief that its soldiers were irresistible, while an unmanly panic, communicated from Chittagong and Dacca, spread even to Calcutta, where, among other absurdities, it was deemed not incredible that a body of adventurous Burmese might penetrate through the Sunderbunds into the British Indian metropolis. Though the disaster was thus monstrously exaggerated, there cannot be a doubt that had the Burmese known how to improve their advantage, a considerable tract of British territory might have been overrun and pillaged. Fortunately they spent the time in idle exultation, till the rains opposed an effectual barrier to their further progress, and before the season for campaigning again commenced, a blunder which had left Chittagong almost undefended was repaired. The expedition to Rangoon had also produced its effect, and the King of Ava, alarmed for his capital, had given orders that all available troops should be concentrated for defensive warfare. The army of Aracan was consequently recalled, and the only occasion on which the Burmese could have inflicted a serious blow was lost.

Operations,
in the
vicinity of
Rangoon

The rains, while they rendered a regular campaign impossible, had not produced a cessation of hostilities at Rangoon. The Burmese, considerably reinforced, constructed stockades in every direction, in order to exclude access to the interior, and by sending parties through the jungle, incessantly harassed the pickets and cut off all stragglers. They also sent down fire-rafts for the purpose of burning the vessels and flotilla anchored off Rangoon. During these operations the British were not contented to remain on the defensive. On the 28th of May, Sir Archibald Campbell, taking 400 Europeans and 250 sepoy, with a gun and howitzer, proceeded to make a reconnoissance. The path, after leading through a tangled forest, where the natural obstacles were increased by artificial impediments, opened on rice fields and plains knee-deep in water. The difficulty of transporting the guns in consequence became so great, that it was judged necessary to send them back under the escort of the sepoy. The detachment, thus limited to Europeans alone, continued the route, and at the distance of about eight miles from Rangoon came in sight of a body of the enemy about 7000 strong. Part of them, entrenched behind strong stockades, were immediately attacked and routed with great slaughter. The main body, intimidated by this success, showed no inclination to avenge their comrades, and

the detachment returned unmolested to the cantonments. Two days after, A D 1824.
another stockade not far from the great pagoda was stormed.

These successes, however much they may have discouraged the Burmese, Affair at Kemendine.
did not deter them from prosecuting the plan they had evidently formed of hemming in the British troops within Rangoon, so as to leave them no alternative but surrender or destruction. At Kemendine, in particular, a series of extensive works had been constructed. These it was determined to attack both by land and water, and with this view three columns were detached against the northern and eastern faces of the stockades, while General Campbell, embarking 300 of his Majesty's 41st regiment, ascended the Irawadi with three cruisers. The works proved stronger than had been supposed, and none of the columns having succeeded in penetrating them, a retreat became necessary. The Burmese, however, were not permitted long to exult in this success. On the 10th of June the attack was renewed with a more adequate force, consisting of 3000 men, with four eighteen-pounders and four howitzers. Before reaching Kemendine it was necessary to capture a strong stockade which had been erected between it and the great pagoda. Three of its sides were inclosed by the forest, and the fourth side had in its front a plain covered with water. This naturally strong position showed the importance which was attached to it by the number of troops collected to defend it. The attack commenced with a cannonade on the open face. After an hour a sufficient aperture was made, and the storming column rushed forward; and about the same time a second column managed to clamber over the palisades in the rear. The defenders thus attacked in opposite directions, and unable to escape, fought with desperation, while the bayonet made fearful havoc among them. This attack was expected to be only the prelude to one of greater difficulty, and batteries had begun to play on the works at Kemendine, when the unusual silence caused inquiry to be made, and they were found to be abandoned. The Burmese, after the severe lesson that had thus been taught them, became less confident, and withdrawing to a greater distance, began to concentrate their forces at Donabaw, fifty miles above Rangoon.

Notwithstanding these successes, the British had not as yet made any decided progress, and were obliged to remain in a state of comparative inaction. Comparative inaction produced by the rains
One obvious cause of this was the state of the country in consequence of the rains, but there was unfortunately another cause of a more distressing nature. Disease, the effect partly of the climate, and partly of a deficiency of fresh and wholesome provisions, began to prevail to such an alarming extent, that scarcely 3000 men remained fit for active duty towards the end of the monsoon. Meanwhile the enemy, apparently aware how much their invaders were reduced and enfeebled, were encouraged to make new exertions. Towards the end of June, great numbers of troops were observed passing from Dalla on the right bank to the left above Kemendine, and on the 1st of July, while the forests in

A D 1824

front were occupied with troops, three columns, each about 1000 strong, moved to the right as if to interpose between part of the cantonments and Rangoon. They were speedily checked and dispersed, but the very next day resumed operations by marching a strong body upon Dalla. It was only to sustain a second repulse; and Dalla itself, as it had been deserted by its inhabitants, and might be used as a cover for other attempts, was destroyed.

Extensive
prepara-
tions of the
Burmese

The court of Ava had been hoping to hear of the annihilation of the invaders, and being of course disappointed with the progress of events, had superseded Thekia Wungyee in the command, and given it to Thamba Wungyee, who, knowing what was expected of him, was naturally anxious not to fall short of it. He accordingly made a great display of activity, and gave so much annoyance that it became necessary to dislodge him. This was no easy task. The Rangoon river, about six miles above the town, is joined by another branch of the Irawadi, called the Lyne. Here Thamba Wungyee had erected four stockades—one at the junction, another about half a mile below on the right bank of the Rangoon, a third immediately opposite to it on the left bank, and a fourth at Kamaroot, about a mile and a half above the junction, and at some distance from the left bank of the Lyne. This last, the largest and strongest of all, was connected with the others by entrenchments. These works were defended by at least 10,000 men. On the 8th of July, Sir Archibald Campbell ascended the river with a flotilla, consisting of the *Larne*, two of the Company's cruisers, and some smaller vessels, having on board a considerable body of troops, and having with little difficulty overpowered the enemy's fire by that of the ships, carried the three stockades accessible from the river. The fourth stockade could not be thus reached, and a strong detachment under Brigadier-general Macbean marched against it from the Shwe-da-gon. The march proved so difficult, that the heavy artillery was sent back, and only a few small howitzers retained. On reaching Kamaroot it was found that the stockades to be captured were no fewer than seven, and besides being strongly garrisoned, were defended by thirty pieces of artillery. Within ten minutes after the attack commenced, the first stockade was carried by escalade; the second after a longer resistance yielded to the same mode of capture; the others scarcely offered any resistance; and thus, without firing a shot, by the aid of the bayonet alone, works which the Burmese regarded as almost impregnable were wrested from them by a mere handful of assailants. Among the incidents at Kamaroot, a single conflict between Major (afterwards Sir) Robert Sale, and a Burman of rank who fell by his hand, is not unworthy of notice. About 800 of the enemy lay dead within the stockades; Thamba Wungyee, the commander, died of his wounds. The defeat at Kamaroot struck terror into the Burmese, and made them for the first time doubtful of the issue of a war into which they had entered with the utmost confidence.

Capture of
stockades at
Kamaroot

While waiting the return of the dry season, Sir Archibald Campbell was

necessarily restricted on land to a petty and desultory warfare. In the beginning of August he took Syriam, the ancient capital of Pegu, situated near the junction of the river of Pegu with that of Rangoon, and of some historical interest from the establishment of a factory in it by the Portuguese, when they were aspiring to extend their dominion over the whole East. In

A.D. 1824.

Capture of
Syriam, and
operations
in Pegu.



ATTACK ON FORT OF SYRIAM.—FROM MOORE'S VIEWS IN RANGOON.

this old factory the Burmese, when attacked by the British detachment, fortified themselves as if determined to stand a siege; but after opening a brisk fire their courage failed them, and they saved themselves from the consequences of an escalade, by a precipitate flight. The inhabitants of Rangoon, who had at first so universally obeyed the order to quit it, now began gradually to return, and the inhabitants of Pegu generally showed so much disaffection to their Burmese masters, that they might to all appearance have easily been induced to throw off the yoke which had for sixty years lain heavily upon them. As yet, however, it was not thought expedient to give any encouragement to their wishes for independence, as the effect might have been to place a chief upon the throne who was unable to maintain himself upon it without British assistance. The restraint thus exercised was at all events cautious, but it may be questioned if it was well judged, as it made the Peguers, if not jealous of our success, indifferent to it, and thus tended to protract the war. This seems to have been the view ultimately taken by the supreme government, as they afterwards gave the encouragement which they now refused, and offered to recognize the independence of any chief whom the Peguers might appoint to rule over them.

The obstacles to operations by land did not apply to those by sea. While the expedition was on its way the island of Cheduba had been reduced by a

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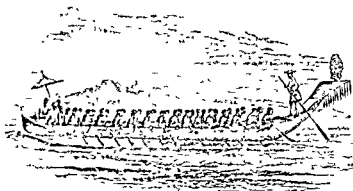
Subjugation
of the Ten-
asserim
provinces.

party detached for that purpose, and at the end of August a strong division sailed for the Tenasserim provinces, which, under the names of Ye, Tavoy, and Mergue, form a narrow but fertile maritime tract stretching along the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, through six degrees of latitude, from the mouths of the Irawadi to the frontiers of the Molucca peninsula. The towns of Tavoy and Mergue, and the provinces of which they are the capitals, were speedily reduced. The inhabitants of the former cordially assisted in the invasion, and after seizing the Burmese governor, made a voluntary surrender. At Mergue the resistance was more seeming than real; and after the troops had landed and stormed the first stockade, all opposition ceased, and the people who had at first fled soon returned, and were perfectly reconciled to their new masters. The resistance in Ye, or Amherst, as it has since been called, was confined chiefly to the important town of Martaban, situated in the north on a bay of the same name, and either on or within the frontiers of Pegu. As it possessed defences of some strength, and was garrisoned by a considerable number of Burmese, it was not taken without the combined exertions of the naval and the land forces, and the storming of a series of stockades. The importance of these conquests was soon felt in more abundant supplies of fresh provisions to the troops at Rangoon, and the establishment of comparatively healthy stations for the recovery of invalids.

Burmese
attempt on
the Golden
Pagoda.

The Burmese meanwhile were not inactive, and besides keeping up a series of petty but harassing manœuvres, actually ventured on a night assault of the British post at the Golden Pagoda. In this attempt they had no ordinary encouragement, for they were headed by leaders, part of them said to be female, who had succeeded by means of charms and amulets in making themselves invulnerable. The loss of twenty of their number having satisfied them

that the charm had somehow or other lost its efficacy, they decamped in confusion. On the opposite side of the river at Dalla, where a British post had been established, the Burmese made a bold attempt to cut off some gun-brigs



BURMESE WAR BOAT.—From Hume's Embassy to Ava.

which were anchored in the vicinity. For this purpose they brought down a flotilla, which on the first alarm was put to flight, and chased till five of its boats were captured. Higher up the river, where the Burmese were understood to be busily erecting stockades and preparing fire-rafts, a combined naval and

land force succeeded in dislodging them on the first onset. These encounters proved that the courage of the Burmese had greatly declined, but an event now occurred tending greatly to revive it.

Serious re-
pulse at
Kaikloo

Information having been received in the beginning of October that the Burmese had taken up a strong position at Kaikloo, about fourteen miles from Rangoon, it was determined to dislodge them, and as the Madras native infantry were mortified at the subordinate part they had borne in previous exploits, this important task was now assigned to them alone. Accordingly, Colonel Smith was detached on the 4th with a brigade of the 3d and 34th native infantry, mustering about 800 men, and two howitzers. In the course of the evening he arrived at a Burmese entrenchment, and after an ineffectual attempt to carry it by escalade, succeeded by means of the howitzers. The failure of the escalade was rather ominous, and Colonel Smith, on learning from the prisoners that the preparations of the Burmese at Kaikloo were more formidable than had been imagined, asked to be reinforced by a detachment of Europeans. The commander-in-chief, under the influence of feelings which are more easily explained than justified, refused Europeans, and sent only 300 Madras infantry, with two additional field-pieces. The whole set out for Kaikloo on the morning of the 7th of October. The first obstacles encountered were a succession of breastworks. From the time spent in carrying these by storm, it was five in the afternoon before the principal stockade was reached. Its right rested on a height crowned with a fortified pagoda. Colonel Smith arranged his troops in three columns—the first to attack the stockade in front, the second to diverge to the right and attack it in flank, and the third to form a reserve, while a party should make a dash at the pagoda. The first column was allowed to approach within sixty yards, and was then suddenly assailed with a murderous fire of grape and musketry. Major Wahab, who commanded, and the leading officers and men, soon fell killed or wounded, and the others, losing their presence of mind, lay down to avoid the fire. The assailants of the pagoda also failed, and were in their turn pursued. The second column, unable to penetrate the thicket, was in the meantime retracing its steps without having effected anything. Under these circumstances Colonel Smith saw no alternative but retreat. Fortunately the second column arrived in time to prevent the retreat from becoming a complete rout, and the whole fell back in tolerable order, after sustaining a loss of twenty-two killed and sixty-six wounded. This affair, magnified by the Burmese into a great victory, revived their spirits, and was exultingly celebrated at the court of Ava. No time, however, was lost in retrieving the disaster. On the 17th of October, a force of 420 Europeans and 350 native infantry, with three field-pieces, marched against Kaikloo, and had their indignation roused to the highest pitch on seeing the bodies of their comrades who fell on the 7th hanging from trees in horrid states of mutilation. They hastened forward resolved on a signal

Consequent
exultation
of the Bur-
mese.

A.D. 1824

Defeat of
Kye Wun-
gyee

vengeance, but found the works abandoned, and returned to Rangoon without seeing an enemy. At the very time when the repulse at Kaikloo was sustained, it was partly compensated by the signal defeat of Kye Wungyee, a leading member of the Ava ministry, who had taken post at Thantabain, on the Lyne. Besides fourteen war-boats, each carrying a gun, he was defended by three breastworks, behind which stood the principal stockade, constructed of solid timber, fifteen feet high, with an interior platform carrying small iron and wooden guns, and heavier ordnance placed in battery on the solid ground below. Formidable as these works appeared, a small naval and military force sent against them stormed part with scarcely any loss, and thereby struck such terror, that the other part was abandoned after one or two ineffective charges.



ARMOUR WORN BY MAHA BANDOOLA,¹
at the battle of Dematow

Positions
of the two
armies.

warriors, had arrived with his veterans from Aracan, and was advancing on Rangoon at the head of 60,000 men. Though much of this rumour was justly treated as mere gasconade, there was no room to doubt that it was partly true, as Maha Bandoola actually made his appearance in the vicinity of the British lines in the beginning of December. His army, supported on the right by a flotilla of war-boats and fire-rafts, extended in a semicircle from the river opposite Dalla, past Kemendine and the Golden Pagoda, and rested with its left on Fuzendoon creek, about half a mile east of Rangoon. His front, for the most part covered by dense jungle, was, where open, protected by breastworks and stockades. The Golden Pagoda, forming the key of the British position, was

The season for opening the campaign was now approaching, and though the climate and unwholesome food had produced so much sickness that not more than 1300 Europeans remained fit for duty, and the native troops were similarly reduced, the prospect of active operations was hailed with enthusiasm, in the full conviction of coming triumphs. And yet the circumstances were such as might have appalled them. According to prevalent rumour, the King of Ava had at last mustered all his forces for a final effort, which was to drive the invaders into the sea, or send them off in chains to the interior, where ignominy and torture awaited them. Maha Bandoola, the greatest of the Burmese

¹ This surt, now in the Tower of London, consists of a mixture of plate and quilted armour—the former having a circular breast defence, and all the pieces

ornamented with a rich gilded arabesque bordering; the latter composed of crimson velvet, with small studs of metal. The spear shaft is of chased silver.

occupied by 300 men of his Majesty's 38th, with twenty pieces of artillery, while the 28th Madras infantry were stationed immediately below. His Majesty's 13th were posted with some guns along the high ground leading from the pagoda to the town. An old Buddhist convent in front of the lines was held by 200 Madras European infantry and some sepoys; and the stockade of Kemendine, which covered the left rear of the position, by the 26th Madras native infantry and a few Madras Europeans. The remainder of the force was placed in communication with Rangoon, which, as well as Kemendine, derived important additional defence from the shipping.

A D 1824.

Position
of British
army at
Rangoon.

During the first week of December, Maha Bandoola kept his army incessantly employed, both in advancing his works and making repeated attempts on the Kemendine stockade. Repulse seemed to have no effect in dislodging them, for the moment their assailants retired, they returned and resumed their labours. By this perseverance they made so much progress, and so annoyed the shipping by constant firing and the launching of fire-rafts, that something more than desultory efforts seemed necessary, and a general attack was resolved upon. Accordingly, while gun-boats sailed up Puzendoon creek to take the Burmese in flank, two columns, the one of 1100 men under Major Sale, and the other of 600 men under Major Walker, moved against their left. The operation was successful, and both columns breaking through the entrenchments drove the whole of the enemy's left from their position, with a heavy loss in men, guns, military equipments, and stores. Maha Bandoola seeming still disposed to maintain his right and centre, another and still greater effort became necessary. It was made on the 7th of December, in four columns, and resulted in the complete discomfiture of the whole Burmese army, which fled in complete disorder without waiting to be attacked in the entrenchments. No hostile force now remained in the vicinity of Rangoon, but it was not long before the Burmese again gave proof of their presence and their determination to omit no mode of warfare which gave any promise of success. On the 14th of December a conflagration, which, from breaking out in different places at once, was evidently intentional, laid a great part of Rangoon in ashes; and at the same time intelligence arrived that a force estimated at 20,000 had reached Kokein, only five miles to the north, and were busily employed in throwing up strong defences. Their presence at such a distance was no longer to be tolerated, and therefore, on the 15th, the commander-in-chief in person started off with two columns, the right mustering 600, and the left 800 men. Short as the time had been, the works at Kokein had been thrown up with such rapidity, that they embraced a circuit of three miles, and consisted of two large and strong stockades situated on the flanks, and connected by six circular entrenchments. The attack having been so arranged as to commence simultaneously in front and rear, the Burmese were completely hemmed in, and both within the stockades and in attempting to escape from them suffered a very heavy loss. During this operation the boats

Great ex-
ertions of the
BurmeseBritish
successes at
Kokein.

A.D. 1824

Burmese
defeated at
Koken

of the men-of-war and gun-boats, towed by the *Diana* steamer, were employed in destroying the enemy's war-boats and fire-rafts. The grand army which came to Rangoon for the purpose of either slaughtering the invaders or carrying them off in chains, had vanished. Maha Bandoola, however, was not the man to despair prematurely. He had always strenuously advocated the war, and was not yet prepared to confess that the only effect of his advice had been to bring his country to the brink of ruin. Retiring to Donabew, he immediately began to organize a new army, and to entrench it within works stronger and more extensive than those from which he had previously been driven. While he is thus employed it will be proper to take a survey of the operations in other quarters.

Operations
in Assam

The retirement of Colonel Richards from his advanced position in Assam to Gowhatty was immediately followed by the return of the Burmese and the renewal of their inroads into the adjacent districts. It was necessary therefore, as soon as he had obtained supplies and reinforcements, to resume the campaign. The state of the weather rendering it impossible to proceed at once with his whole force, which mustered about 3000 native troops, he was only able towards the end of October to send off two detachments by water for the purpose of checking the enemy's depredations. The one detachment under Major Waters, after routing a party of Burmese at Raha Chowki, proceeded to Nowgong, where the Boora Rajah and the governor of Assam had entrenched themselves with 1300 men. Notwithstanding their superior numbers, they declined the encounter, and left him to take undisputed possession of their works. The other detachment, under Major Cooper, proceeded to Caliabar, and found it abandoned. Colonel Richards having thus secured two advanced positions, commenced a tedious march with the remainder of his force along the banks, while his stores and baggage were dragged in boats against the current of the Brahmapootra, and on the 6th of January, 1825, reached Maupa Mukh, about 120 miles beyond Gowhatty. On the 29th he arrived at Rangpoor, the capital of Upper Assam, situated on the Dikho, a feeder of the Brahmapootra. The fort, consisting of a square building of solid masonry, mounted 200 pieces of cannon, and was moreover rendered difficult of access by two swamps and a ditch. It was defended by a strong garrison of Burmese and Assamese, and seemed capable of making a vigorous defence. Fortunately violent dissensions prevailed among the leaders, and Colonel Richards had no sooner carried a stockade which had been erected across the road, and begun to plant a breaching battery, than he received proposals for surrender. The terms as ultimately arranged were that such of the garrison as chose might retire peaceably within the Burmese territories, and such as were willing to submit might remain in Assam. At first about 9000 persons, including women and children, began their departure for the Burmese frontiers, but many soon repented, and the number of emigrants was greatly diminished. With the surrender of Rangpoor, Assam ceased to be the scene of further hostilities, and became a British province.

Its final sub-
jugation.

When the obstacles which threatened the success of the expedition to Rangoon became known at Calcutta, it was determined to fit out two considerable armaments for an overland invasion of Ava, the one to penetrate through Kachar and Munipoor into the valley of the Ningtee, a tributary of the Iravadi, and the other, starting from Chittagong, to cross the mountains between Aracan and Ava, and ultimately form a junction with the army from Rangoon. The Kachar division, mustering upwards of 7000 men, commanded by Colonel Shulldham, assembled on the Sylhet frontier toward the end of 1824. As the Burmese had retired from Kachar, and had full occupation in Pegu, there was no reason to apprehend any direct resistance. There were physical obstacles, however, of a very formidable nature, and these unfortunately, from the same ignorance and rashness which characterized all the initiatory movements in the Burmese war, had been in a great measure overlooked. The very first march could not be accomplished till a road had been made by the pioneers, with infinite labour, from Bhadrappoor to Banskandy. The distance to Munipoor was still ninety miles of one of the most rugged tracts that was ever travelled, presenting a succession of steep hills clothed with dense forests, water-courses with high and precipitous banks, and occasional flats of deep plashy mire. The pioneers succeeded in cutting a foot-way of about forty miles, but it was only labour in vain, as neither artillery nor loaded cattle could pass along it. After the month of February and March, 1825, had been spent in a vain endeavour to overcome these obstacles, they were pronounced insurmountable, and the prosecution of the invasion by Kachar was in consequence abandoned.

A.D. 1825

Two forces
succeeded
overland
against Ava.Proceedings
of the
Kachar
force

The Aracan armament, mustering about 11,000 men, under the command of Brigadier-general Morrison, assembled at Chittagong. The preparations for it had been dilatory, and accompanied with circumstances of an ominous description. The aversion of the sepoy, particularly those of Bengal, to a sea voyage has already been mentioned. As this aversion seemed not to be overcome, government yielded to it, and resolved to substitute a tedious and difficult march by land for the far cheaper and more expeditious sea route. For this purpose several sepoy regiments were ordered eastward from the north-western provinces. During their march a very unusual number of desertions took place, and it became obvious that the aversion of the sepoy was not merely to the sea voyage, but to employment at all in the Burmese war. They had heard of the disaster which had befallen Captain Noton's detachment at Ramoo, and they regarded the Burmese with terror, as a kind of magicians who could render themselves invulnerable. Thus overcome by superstitious and unmanly fears they were determined not to go to Aracan if they could possibly avoid it. All therefore that they wanted was a plausible pretext for refusing, and unfortunately, owing to mismanagement on the part of their superiors, they had no difficulty in finding it. Three native regiments, the 26th, 47th, and 62d, cantoned at Barrackpore, were under orders for Aracan. They had received the intimation

The Aracan
force

A D 1824

Complaints
of the sepoys
in Aracan
armament

with murmurs, complaining with some show of reason that they did not possess and were unable to procure the necessary means of transport. The sepoy carried his knapsack, containing his linen and various small articles, and sixty rounds of ammunition, but in addition to these, in order not to risk the loss of caste, he cumbered himself with various culinary articles, as a plate, a water-pot, a boiler, a frying pan, and a cup. These articles, all of brass, weighed about twenty-two lbs, and could only be conveyed by hiring or purchasing bullocks for the purpose. This expense, probably because it was considered to be one of his own creating, was thrown upon himself, and was usually borne without grumbling. In the present instance, however, the circumstances were of an exceptional nature, and he not unreasonably expected that allowance would be made for them. The commissariat, in supplying its own demands, had nearly swept Bengal of all its available cattle, and none could be obtained by the sepoy except at extravagant rates. When the fact was represented at head-quarters, on the part of the 47th regiment, which was to be the first to march, the answer returned was that the sepoy must provide themselves as usual. The mutinous spirit which previously existed now threw off restraint, and at private meetings held within the lines, the sepoy bound themselves by oath not to march unless their pay was increased and carriage supplied. To remove or allay the discontent, Colonel Cartwright, in command of the regiment, made some purchases of bullocks at his own expense, and government offered advances of money; but the men having been furnished with a real grievance, under cover of which they might disguise, and at the same time give effect to their cowardly fears of the Burmese, refused to part with it. In fact the grievance had been practically removed, for two days before the final orders to march were given, "the cattle for the baggage were reported to be efficient and ready," and the only thing that can be said in justification or palliation of the continued insubordination is, that having been allowed to proceed so far it could not now be suppressed.

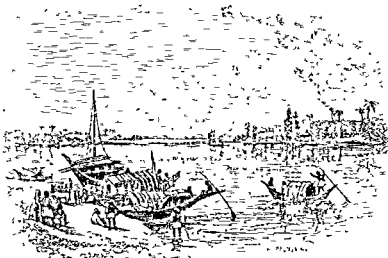
Open mutiny
of the 47th
Bengal
native In-
fantry

Colonel Cartwright, having in vain exerted himself to restore discipline, sought the advice of his superior officer General Dalzell, who proceeded to Calcutta to consult with Sir Edward Paget, the commander-in-chief. On his return General Dalzell gave orders that the 47th regiment should appear on parade in marching order on the 1st of November. About a third of the whole obeyed, but the rest assembling tumultuously in the adjacent lines, threatened to fire upon them if they stirred, while all the attempts made by General Dalzell and the other officers to bring the mutineers to a sense of duty were met with clamour and menace. They were, therefore, of necessity left to take their own course till effectual means of coercion could be provided. During the day and the following night they continued in the same excited and tumultuous state, and on being made acquainted with the arrival of the commander-in-chief, sent a petition to him. Captain Macan, who was employed to translate

it, appended to his translation the following note:—"The original of this petition is written in a most barbarous and unintelligible manner. No regard is paid to spelling, grammar, or idiom. I am therefore doubtful if I have expressed the sentiments of the petitioners in every paragraph, and I am convinced that they have themselves not done so. Those parts, however (such as the third paragraph), on which I have doubts are the least important." The petition certainly justifies Captain Macan's account of it, and requires a very wide interpretation, but it is scarcely possible to suppose that it does not contain any statement of what the mutineers really wanted. Now it is remarkable that the document, though long enough to have enumerated a large list of grievances, makes no mention whatever of those to which their conduct has usually been ascribed. It says nothing of irregular promotions, which are said to have offended them, nor of the difficulty of procuring bullocks for transport,

A.D. 1825.

Mutiny of
the 47th
Bengal
native in-
fantry.



THE RIVER HOOGHLY, NEAR BARRACKPOOR.—FROM HARDING'S RECOLLECTIONS OF INDIA.

and confines itself almost entirely to one single topic. "The case," it says, is this:—"The soubahdar major and havildar major told the sepoys, &c., they were going to Rangoon, and would be embarked on board ship, and he told all the sepoys that when the Company went to war they ought not to shrink." To this, according to the petition, the sepoys replied "that they never could put their feet on board ship, and that no person would forfeit his caste. For this reason all the sepoys swore by the Ganges water and *toolsee* (sacred basil), that they would never put their feet in a ship; and every gentleman knows that when a Hindoo takes Ganges water and *toolsee* in his hand, he will sacrifice his life. In this way the regiment, &c., pledged themselves. This which is written is our representation." After complaining of the soubahdar and havildar for having stated to Colonel Cartwright that the regiment was ready to march, "whereas the sepoys knew nothing of this circumstance," the petition concludes thus:—"Now you are master of our lives; what you order we will do, but

Their
alleged
grievances

A D 1824. we will not go on board ship, nor will we march for that purpose. Formerly our name was good, but it has now become bad; our wish is therefore that our names be effaced, and that every man may return to his home." From these quotations it is obvious that what the petitioners really demanded was that they should either be exempted from serving in the Burmese war or discharged. The answer to the petition was that it had never been intended to send them by sea, but that no regard could be had to soldiers in actual rebellion, and the first and only thing they had to do was to lay down their arms without stipulating for conditions.

As the other two native regiments were known to be infected, the suppression of the mutiny could not be expected from them, and therefore two of the king's regiments—the royals and the 47th—with a detachment of horse artillery, and a troop of the governor-general's body-guard, had been brought to Barrackpore for that purpose. Early on the morning of the 2d of November, these troops were drawn up perpendicularly to the sepoy lines, the artillery a little to the rear. The mutinous regiment, the native 47th, was formed in front of the lines, and to the left, in the rear of them, the 26th and 62d, the two other native regiments which were under orders to march. About twenty men of the 26th, and above 100 of the 62d, had joined the 47th and stood along with it to share its fate. Before the final step was taken Sir Edward Paget deputed the quarter-master general, the adjutant-general, Colonel Galloway, the commander of the rebellious regiment, and Captain Macan of the 16th lancers, as interpreter, to explain his answer to the petition, and make the mutineers fully aware of the perilous position in which they stood. The native officers had previously withdrawn, and left them to themselves. After some expostulation, which they met only with clamour and symptoms of increasing violence, they were told that their fate depended on obeying the orders about to be given by the adjutant-general. His first was "order arms;" it was instantly obeyed; the second was "ground arms;" it was met with loud murmurs and vociferations, and obeyed, it is said, only by a single individual. The artillery immediately opened fire, and the mutineers, though possessed each of forty rounds of ammunition, instead of employing it in resistance, at once broke, threw down their arms, and fled. In rushing across the parade-ground, several were shot by the infantry, or cut down by a charge of the body-guard, still more fell in the pursuit, or perished in the river which skirts the plain of Barrackpore on the north. At first the number of killed was stated at nearly 200, but this appears to have been an exaggeration, as only eleven bodies were found in the lines and on the parade-ground. Of the many who were made prisoners, and afterwards tried by native courts-martial, some ringleaders were hanged, and others condemned to hard labour in irons. A more lenient course was ultimately adopted, and all those detained in custody were liberated. The native officers, on the assumption that they must have

Mutiny of
47th regi-
ment

Mutiny
suppressed.

known of the mutiny, and perhaps encouraged it, were dismissed the service, A.D. 1824 and the name of the 47th Bengal native infantry was erased from the army list. The stern course adopted was successful, and the mutinous spirit, which had already infected two other regiments and might soon have been much more widely spread, disappeared.

From the account which has been given of this mutiny, it seems impossible to deny that part of the blame must be borne by the military authorities. Official mismanagement. When the difficulty of procuring the necessary bullocks for transport was represented to them, and not denied, it was, to say the least, harsh and inconsiderate, simply to reply in effect that they neither could nor would assist in obviating it. It is true, that they afterwards came forward and offered to advance the necessary funds, but by this very act they pronounced their own condemnation. If there was any propriety in the advance, it ought to have been offered at the time when assistance was requested, and not delayed till it could only be regarded as a concession made under pressure to mutineers. At the same time, it is perfectly plain that the refusal of assistance, however much it may have inflamed the mutinous spirit and forced it to a crisis, did not originate it. The sepoys were determined from the first not to go to Aracan unless under compulsion. They began accordingly with swearing "by the Ganges water and toolsee that they would never put their feet in a ship." When this oath proved unavailing from its having been determined to send them by land, their reluctance took a different form, and they began to clamour for additional allowances and pay. Pretexts, in short, more or less plausible never would have been wanting, as the men, without having made up their minds to actual resistance, were bent on shunning a service which they both feared and detested. True cause of the mutiny. The court of inquiry, which afterwards reported on the mutiny, take a different, and we cannot help thinking, a very preposterous view of the subject. According to them, the mutiny was an "ebullition of despair at being compelled to march without the means of doing so," and they "do not hesitate to believe that, in spite of every other discouraging circumstance, if the means of carriage had been forthcoming at the proper period, and in proportion adequate to the necessities of men marching on such an arduous and trying service, none of the other points of complaint would have been heard, and the late 47th regiment would now have been contending against the enemies of the state." The court of inquiry, when they speak thus, entirely lose sight of the notorious aversion of the sepoys to the service on which they were ordered, and very absurdly represent the want of bullock transport as the cause of a mutinous spirit which existed, and had been manifested by the prevalence of desertion, before this want was known. The opinion of Sir Edward Paget, the commander-in-chief, though it was scouted at the time, will now, when it can be read by the light of subsequent events, be treated with more respect. Giving evidence before a committee of the House of Commons on the state of discipline in the native Indian army, he

A D 1825.

Insurrection in
Bengal
Army

says: "It is impossible for me to conceal from the committee that there is a great spirit of insubordination in the army, at least in that I had the opportunity of more particularly seeing, which is the Bengal army. A sort of spirit of independence prevails amongst the officers, which is totally inconsistent with our ideas of military discipline. I had abundant opportunities of seeing it myself, and had the proofs before me of that spirit; and I have reason to think from what I have subsequently heard, that it is by no means subsiding."

Departure of
the Aracan
force

When the mutiny at Barrackpore was suppressed, all the obstacles to the completion of the expedition against Aracan were removed. It consisted, as already mentioned, of a land army of about 11,000 men, commanded by General Morrison, and composed of his Majesty's 41th and 51th regiments, the 26th 42d, 49th, and 62d Bengal native infantry, the 10th and 16th Madras native infantry, the Mug levy, and some local horse, with details of artillery and pioneers. For the conveyance of troops and supplies along the shore, and to co-operate in the reduction of maritime tracts and islands, it was accompanied by a flotilla commanded by Commodore Hayes, and consisting of the *Vesta* Bombay cruiser, the Company's surveying ships *Research* and *Investigator* the armed steamer *Pluto*, five gun-brigs, with the ketch bomb-vessel, four gun-pinnaces, and eighty gun-boats, each carrying a twelve-pounder carronade besides transports and country boats. In addition to the ordinary crews, the flotilla carried 600 marines. Owing to various causes of delay, General Morrison was unable to move from Chittagong till the beginning of January, 1825, but it was expected that he would soon be able to make up for lost time, as it was known that in consequence of the withdrawal of Maha Bandoola with his army for the purpose of arresting the progress of Sir Archibald Campbell, there was now no Burmese force in Aracan capable of encountering him. The existence of an enemy far more formidable than the Burmese was again in a great measure overlooked.

Physical
features of
Aracan

Aracan stretches nearly 300 miles from north to south along the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. On the east, the Yumadong Mountains, which have an average height of 3000 to 4000 feet, separate it from Burmah and Pegu. These mountains, and the streams which flow from them, give it its peculiar physical features. In the north, where their distance from the coast is greatest, they leave a width of about ninety miles, but in proceeding southwards the space between them and the coast gradually narrows, till at last they leave no interval at all, and terminate on the shore in Cape Negrais. In the southern half of Aracan, the mountains come so close to the shore as to leave no room for the development of any streams exceeding mere mountain torrents; but in the northern half, above the twentieth degree of north latitude, the breadth is not only sufficient to furnish supplies to larger streams, but being intersected longitudinally by lower ridges parallel to the principal range, is divided by them into several long valleys, each of which forms the basin of a

considerable river. Of these rivers, which, in consequence of the configuration now described, necessarily flow southward, the principal are the Myoo, the Kaladyne or Aracan, and the Lemyo. They have each a course of about 150 miles, are on an average not more than twenty miles distant from each other, and approaching still nearer in the lower part of their course, have a common embouchure in Hunter's Bay, where they communicate by various channels, and form numerous small islands. Most of the coast is in like manner skirted with islands, but of these, the only two whose magnitude entitles them to notice, are Ransee and Cheduba. From the Naaf, which forms the boundary between Chittagong and Aracan, the coast is lined by shoals, which sometimes stretch two or three miles from the shore; and indented by numerous bays and creeks, mostly formed by the torrents which, rushing down from the neighbouring mountains, take the nearest course to the sea. The interior is even more forbidding than the coast, presenting a succession of rugged heights, separated by deep ravines, or of marshy flats. In both cases, lofty forests or dense jungle render any routes that can be taken difficult in the extreme, and poison the atmosphere, particularly at the commencement and cessation of the rains, so as to make it absolutely pestilential.

A D. 1825

Physical
features of
Aracan.

General Morrison, in order to avoid the apparently insurmountable obstacles to his passage through the interior of the country, resolved to pursue a route as near as possible to the coast, hoping that he would thus be able to avail himself of the assistance of the flotilla in the conveyance of stores, and in facilitating the passage of troops across the mouths of rivers. Having, on the 1st of February, reached the estuary of the Naaf, he sent a detachment across it to take possession of Mangdoo, but was not able to transport the main body of the army before the 12th. As a great part of the cattle necessary for transport had not yet arrived, he was obliged to leave most of the baggage and stores at Mangdoo, under charge of a division, and continued his march southward to the estuary of the Myoo, or Tek Myoo. It was more than three miles in width, and, owing to various causes of delay, was not finally crossed till a whole month had elapsed. The army then encamped at Chankrain, situated on a branch of the Koladyne, which is navigable by loaded boats to within a few miles of Aracan, the capital. To effect its capture was now the great object of the expedition. At first it seems to have been intended to approach it by water, and Commodore Hayes having entered the mouth of the Koladyne with the flotilla toward the end of February, had ascended to a place called Kiung-pala. Here his further progress was obstructed by a stockade, which, after he had sustained some loss in an ineffectual attempt to force it, compelled him to return. The land attack was therefore necessarily adopted, and the army, on the 20th of March, began to move upwards, following the direction of the river. No enemy appeared, and even at Kiung-pala, the stockade which had baffled Commodore Hayes was found abandoned. On the 26th, and the

Proceedings
of the Aracan
force

A D 1825

Capture of
Aracan

day following, some resistance was offered at two places where stockades had been erected, but it was easily overcome, and the army, advancing without opposition, arrived on the 29th at the foot of a range of hills about 400 feet high, which encircle and completely command the capital, situated in the plain below. Here it seemed that no further advance would be permitted, as the summit of the hills was strongly stockaded, and a Burmese force, estimated at 9000 men, stood ready to defend it. Formidable as the works appeared, it was determined at once to assault them. This rash resolution was punished by a repulse. The assailants in climbing the steep ascent, were met by a murderous fire, and volleys of heavy stones rolled down upon them, and after an ineffectual struggle, they were compelled to retire with considerable loss. After this severe lesson greater caution was used. On the 30th, the guns brought into position opened a brisk fire on the stockades, and on the evening of the 31st, a detachment succeeded, by a circuitous movement, in gaining the heights without being discovered. On the 1st of April, the Burmese, while assailed as before in front, lost all presence of mind on being attacked also in flank, and fled, leaving Aracan an easy capture. The subjugation of the rest of the country was easily accomplished.

Disasters
occasioned
by ignorance
of
geography

According to the original plan, General Morrison's next object was to co-operate with the army on the Irawadi. Here again, owing to ignorance of the geography of the country, or rather to an infatuated neglect of information which had been communicated—and the truth or falsehood of which might easily have been verified—the perfectly practicable pass of Aeng, by which a very extensive trade between Burmah and Aracan was carried on, was overlooked, and one beset with insuperable difficulties selected. To reconnoitre, and if possible attempt this pass, Major Bucke, at the head of a detachment, proceeded to Talak, at the foot of the mountains, about seventy miles SSE of Aracan. After four marches up the rugged ascent, the troops arrived in a state of complete exhaustion at Thantabain, on the Burman frontier, but it was only to learn that the enemy, posted in force, were waiting to dispute their further progress. Hitherto it had been almost impossible to advance unopposed. What, then, would it be to attempt it with an enemy in front? Major Bucke, influenced by this consideration, and the inefficient state to which fatigue and privation had reduced his detachment, immediately began to retrace his steps. Had he, instead of attempting the ascent at Talak, only continued his march about ten miles farther to the south-east, he would have found the pass of Aeng lying open and wide to receive him. The failure of the expedition was not the worst of the evils which could be traced to ignorance of the Aeng Pass. The main army, left in Aracan, made no other effort to co-operate with Sir Archibald Campbell, and remained only to pine away and perish by disease. Its ravages were indeed fearful. When the rainy season terminated, a fourth of the whole army had died, and more than half the survivors were in hospital. From such

Fearsful
mortality

an army nothing further was to be expected, and nothing remained but to avoid its total annihilation by withdrawing it from the pestilential atmosphere of the capital, and sending its scanty remnants to recruit at different stations on the coast which had proved comparatively healthy. It is now time to return to the army at Rangoon, on whose unaided exertions the success of the war seemed now to depend

A D. 1825.

After the capture of the stockades at Kokein the condition of the British forces had greatly improved. The return of the healthy season had arrested the progress of disease, reinforcements had arrived, and the population, whose desertion of their houses had added greatly to the difficulties of the campaign, were rapidly returning. It has been already mentioned that some overtures which the Peguers made with a view to secure their future independence were not encouraged, because it was feared that the British government might be called upon for a guarantee, which might produce disagreeable entanglements. A new policy was now inaugurated, and in order to give additional confidence to the returning inhabitants, Sir Archibald Campbell issued a proclamation in which, after asking "What folly can actuate you to attempt any further opposition to the British arms?" and reminding them of the oppression and tyranny which they had for a long time endured "by the cruel and brutal conduct of the Burmese government," and contrasting their wretched position with the "comfort and happiness" of the Tenasserim provinces, "now under the protection of the English flag," he concluded thus: "Choose from among yourselves a chief and I will acknowledge him." There were obstacles, however, which made it difficult for the Peguers to take advantage of the pledge thus given them. Their ancient ruling dynasty was extinct, and before there was any prospect of a harmonious choice, British policy had assumed a new phase, and determined to renounce "the present benefit," in order to avoid "the eventual inconvenience" of encouraging the people to recover their independence.

Proposed independence of Pegu

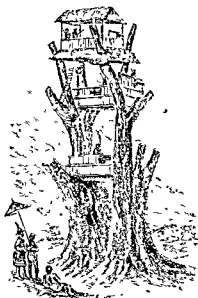
Difficulty of conveyance and deficiency of supplies had at one time disposed Sir Archibald Campbell to meditate an entirely new line of operations. The alternative he proposed was, to proceed to Martaban and thence march on Ava through Old Pegu, or to re-embark the troops, and re-land them in Aracan, with the view of penetrating into the heart of the Burman empire through some pass of the Yumadong Mountains. Fortunately government discountenanced both proposals, and satisfied him that he ought to follow out the original design. Accordingly, as soon as his arrangements were completed, he left a garrison in Rangoon, and formed his army into three divisions:—the first, of 2400 men, under his own immediate command; the second, of 1200, under Brigadier-general Cotton; and the third, of 600, under Major Sale. The last division sailed to Cape Negrais, and after destroying some batteries which the Burmese had erected there, ascended the Bassein to the town of same name. The Burmese having set it on fire and abandoned it, Major Sale attempted to follow on

New plan of operations suggested

A D 1825

Operations
of Major
Sale and
General
Cotton

their track, till the failure of proper conveyance left him no alternative but to return to Bassein, re-embark, and sail back to Rangoon, without having effected any object of the least moment. The blame, however, rested not with him, but with those who had sent him on an expedition from which no adequate results could reasonably have been anticipated. The second division, accompanied by a flotilla of sixty-two gun-boats, and all the boats of the men-of-war, proceeded up the river, with instructions to carry the enemy's works at Panlang and Donabew by the way. General Cotton began to ascend the river on the 16th of February, and three days after arrived at Panlang. The stockades erected on both banks, and also in front, at the point where the channel divided, had a formidable appearance, but were quickly cleared by the shells and rockets of the flotilla, and captured without a struggle. Destroying all the



MANDOOLA'S LOOK OUT TREE, WITH FOUR GUNS
AT DONABEW.—FROM SINGAPORE BURNING WAR

Stockades
at Donabew

possible; immediately behind rose the old brick walls of Donabew, affording by means of cross-beams additional strength to the stockades, and a platform on which the defenders, while pouring a murderous fire on their assailants, were well sheltered. On this platform, and other parts of the works, 140 guns of various calibre, and a still greater number of gingals, were mounted. All round the stockade was an outer ditch of considerable depth and width, made difficult to cross by various contrivances, such as spikes, nails, holes, &c., and on every side except toward the river was an abattis thirty yards broad, and otherwise of a very formidable description. Beside the principal stockade there were other two of similar structure, but minor dimensions, situated lower down the river, and forming a kind of outworks.

To attack these formidable defences and their garrison of 12,000 men, headed

stockades except one, in which a garrison was left to maintain the communication with Rangoon, General Cotton continued to ascend, and quitting the Rangoon for the Irawadi at the point where they branch off, came in sight of Donabew on the 28th. Here Maha Bandoola commanded in person, and had entrenched himself, with a garrison of 12,000 men, within works as strong as Burmese art could make them.

The principal stockade of Donabew extended for nearly a mile along the right bank of the river, and formed a parallelogram, varying in breadth, according to the nature of the ground, from 500 to 800 yards. The stockading, from fifteen to seventeen feet high, was composed of solid teak beams driven firmly into the earth, and as close as

by the ablest and most renowned of the Burmese warriors, General Cotton could barely muster 600 bayonets. It was a gross blunder on the part of the commander-in-chief to send him on such an errand with such inadequate means, and it was a still grosser blunder on his part to attempt to execute it when he had ascertained by ocular inspection that it was scarcely possible for him to succeed. From some idea, however, that his instructions left him no option, he lost no time in making the necessary preparations. After sending a flag of truce with a summons to surrender, and receiving the defiance which he must have anticipated, he commenced his attack at sunrise on the 7th of March, by sending his troops in two columns, under cover of the fire of two field-pieces and a rocket battery, against the nearer of the two minor stockades. The defence, though maintained with more steadiness than the Burmese had recently displayed, was unavailing, and the assailants were quickly within the work, dealing death to all who had not previously escaped from it. As soon as the first stockade was captured a battery was erected in front of it, and began to play upon the second stockade. When a sufficient impression was supposed to have been made, 200 men advanced in two parties to storm. The destructive fire with which they were met caused them to diverge from the point of attack and betake themselves to a ditch. It gave them no shelter, for besides being filled with spikes, it had been scarp'd so as to expose it to the fire of the stockade, and Captain Rose, who though wounded was gallantly leading the storming party, having fallen by a second shot, it was deemed hopeless to persevere, and the flotilla, after re-embarking the troops, guns, and stores, dropped down the river to wait for new instructions.

A.D. 1825.

Failure of
attack on
stockades at
Donabew.

The first division, under Sir Archibald Campbell, was meantime pursuing its march. It had started on the 13th of February, and proceeded up the country, keeping at a short distance from the left bank of the Lyne. On the 23d it reached the town of this name, and on the 1st of March, after fording the river, a march of fourteen miles brought it to Tharawa, on the Irawadi. After halting here for some days, for the purpose of receiving accounts of General Cotton, a cannonade heard in the direction of Donabew on the 7th, and some information obtained, led Sir Archibald Campbell to conclude that that stockade had been actually carried, and that he himself might now safely continue his march. A despatch from General Cotton undeceived him when he had made only two marches in advance, and he immediately began to retrace his steps, under a conviction of the necessity of not only restoring the reputation of the British arms, but of removing a hostile force, which now commanding the river in his rear, entirely destroyed his communication with Rangoon. On the 13th he returned to Tharawa, and began to make preparations for crossing the Irawadi. As the river is here nearly half a mile wide, and the actual means of transport consisted only of a few canoes, this was a work of no ordinary difficulty. At length, however, by constructing rafts for the more pon-

Subsequent
proceedings

A D 1825

derous materials, the army with its equipments were safely landed on the right bank. On the 18th the retrograde movement was resumed, and on the 25th, after a march, during which it was necessary to cut a pathway through thickets of intricate jungle, Donabew was reached.

Successes of
the British

Sir Archibald Campbell having taken up his position above the works while the flotilla which had brought up General Cotton's division was below, it became necessary to open a communication. This was gallantly effected by the flotilla, which, taking advantage of a fair wind, sailed up the river and ran the gauntlet of all the guns which the enemy could bring to bear upon it, without sustaining any serious damage. During this achievement the Burmese, as if to show what they too were capable of, ventured on a vigorous sortie. It was headed by seventeen elephants, each carrying five or six men, armed with gingals and muskets, and supported by a small body of horse, and dense masses of infantry. It was a vain bravado on the part of the Burmese, and cost them dear. As they approached, a well-directed fire of artillery and musketry threw their ranks into confusion. The elephants becoming unmanageable, or deprived of their drivers, who had been shot down, fled into the adjoining thicket, the horse followed, and the foot made the best of their way back into the stockade. In the subsequent operations, so little courage and skill were displayed by the defenders, that the assailants had a comparatively easy task to perform. Maha Bandoola had been killed by a rocket or the bursting of a shell, and the Burmese troops, thus deprived of the only leader in whom they had confidence, refused to continue the struggle. On the 3d of April, when the guns and heavy mortars which had been placed in battery opened their fire, no answer was made from the stockade, and its defenders were discovered in full retreat through the adjoining jungle. No further explanation was necessary, and the whole works were taken possession of without more resistance.

They ad-
vance into
the interior

The only obstacle to an advance into the interior being thus removed, Sir Archibald Campbell, now strengthened by his other divisions, and by additional reinforcements from Rangoon, resumed his march. The Prince of Tharawadi, the brother of the Burmese sovereign, who had assumed the command, had succeeded in collecting a considerable force, but was evidently determined to rest satisfied with the defensive, regularly retreating as the British advanced. Thus allowed to march without encountering any opposition, Sir Archibald Campbell had arrived within thirty miles of Prome, when a British soldier, who had been made prisoner by the Burmese, arrived in his camp, with a letter addressed to him by two of the *atuen-wuns*, or royal councillors. It attributed the war which had interrupted the ancient friendship of the two states to the conduct of a certain paltry chief, and proposed that a negotiation might be opened for the restoration of peace. The answer returned was, that the British army was advancing to Prome, and that its commander-in-chief, on arriving there,

would very willingly listen to any overtures that had peace for their object. The atwen-wuns had hoped that the proposal to negotiate would induce the British commander to desist from advancing, and on finding the contrary, ceased to make any further communication. On the 25th of April, Prome, which, in the judgment of Sir Archibald Campbell, was so strong by nature and art, that a garrison of 1000 men might have successfully defended it against ten times that number, was entered without opposition.

A.D. 1825.

Capture of
Prome

Though the Burmese, by their lame abandonment of Prome, seemed at first sight to have given up the contest in despair, they afterwards resumed new courage, and began to make large levies of troops. In this manner they collected a force of about 52,000 men. Of these about 20,000 were assembled at Meaday, on the Irawadi, forty miles due north of Prome, under Mimiabo, a half brother of the king, and 12,000 at Tongho, eighty miles to the E.N.E., while the remaining 20,000 were stationed principally at Pagahm, Melloon, and Patanagoh. To oppose all these troops Sir Archibald Campbell had under his command only 5000 men, of whom nearly a half were Europeans. Notwithstanding the vast disparity of numbers, past ex-



FIGURE 1.—1, Koa Wangee, or Prime Minister. 2, A Trooper. 3, A Canny Horseman.

perience justified him in feeling confident as to the result, and yet, for many reasons, of which the enormous expense was one of the strongest, the supreme government were urgent for an early termination of hostilities. Not long, therefore, after he had established his head-quarters at Prome, Sir Archibald Campbell took the initiative in negotiation, by addressing a letter to the Burmese ministers, stating that he was empowered to conclude a peace, and inviting them to save their country from the calamities which a continuance of the war would certainly bring upon it. A favourable answer was immediately returned, and the British commander, waiving the point of etiquette, which he would have shown more judgment in maintaining, sent a mission to the camp of Mimiabo, when he might have insisted on receiving one. After some delay, an armistice

Negotiation
proposed.

¹ From Snodgrass's *Narrative of the Burmese War, Cox's Residence in the Burman Empire, and Symes' Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava.*

-A.D. 1825. of one month was concluded, and a day was fixed on which Sir Archibald Campbell and the Kye Wungyee, one of the principal of the Burmese ministers, were to meet and arrange the definitive conditions of peace.

Meeting of
commissioners.

On the 2d of October, the day fixed for the meeting, the commissioners, Sir Archibald Campbell and Sir James Brisbane, the British admiral in the Indian seas, on the one side, and the Kye Wungyee and Lamain Wun on the other, each party attended by a personal suite, and escorted by 1000 picked men, encamped on the plain of Naibenzik, about a mile asunder. About midway between, a *lotoo*, or hall of audience, on the model of that at Ava, had been erected. In all the preliminary arrangements the utmost care had been taken to maintain an appearance of perfect equality, and this was now carried so far, that both parties, by previous agreement, started from their encampments at the very same moment, and met together in front of the *lotoo*. "Shaking of hands," says Major Snodgrass,¹ "and every demonstration of amicable feeling having passed, the parties entered the house, and sat down on two rows of chairs fronting each other, the wungyees and their suite, in all fifteen chiefs, each bearing the chain of nobility, and dressed in their splendid court dresses, evidently doing grievous penance in seats they were never accustomed to, that no difference might appear, even in the most trifling particular between the parties; and so observing and tenacious were they on this point, that scarcely a movement could be made without a corresponding one on their side." On proceeding to business, the terms proposed evidently disconcerted them. Sir Archibald Campbell demanded that the King of Ava should cede Aracan, abstain from interference with Assam, Kachar, and Munipoor, and pay two crores of rupees (£2,000,000 sterling) as the expenses of the war, one half immediately, and the remainder at an early date, Rangoon, Martaban, and the Tenasserim provinces being in the meantime retained as security. The Burmese commissioners declared that these rigorous demands had taken them completely by surprise, and after arguing strenuously against them, as neither just nor generous, proposed an extension of the armistice till the 2d of November, that they might have an opportunity of submitting them to the king. It was evident from what passed, that the Burmese would not make the concessions demanded without another struggle, but as the season for opening a new campaign had not yet arrived, the extension of the armistice was readily granted. A few days before it expired, a letter arrived from the Burmese commissioners, intimating the final determination of the court of Ava, in the following terms:—"If you sincerely want peace, and our former friendship re-established according to Burman custom, empty your hands of what you have, and then if you ask it, we will be on friendly terms with you, and send our petition for the release of your English prisoners, and send them down to

Failure of
the negotia-
tions.

¹ *Narrative of the Burmese War*, by Major Snodgrass, military secretary to the commander of the expedition, p. 215.

you However, after the termination of the armistice between us, if you show any inclination to renew your demands for money for your expenses, or any territory from us, you are to consider our friendship at an end. This is Burman custom."

A.D. 1823.

The Burmese, as soon as they had indignantly rejected the terms proposed by Sir Archibald Campbell, lost no time in preparing for the resumption of hostilities, and began to advance upon Prome. A considerable body took post at Watigaon, about twenty miles distant, and by commanding the country on the right flank of the British army, threatened to give great annoyance. In order to dislodge them, Brigadier-general M'Dowall was detached on the evening of the 15th of November, with four regiments of Madras native infantry, disposed in three columns—the first under his own immediate command, to attack the position on the left, and the second to assail it in front,

Resumption of hostilities



PROME, from the Heights.—From a sketch by Lieutenant Willoughby, Bengal Artillery

while the third moved to the eastward. The columns, from marching separately over ground covered with marsh and jungle, could not communicate, and lost sight of each other. The brigadier arrived first. Though he had no breaching-guns, and knew nothing of the other columns, he rushed on to force an entrance into the works. This precipitation cost him his life. After he had fallen, and most of the other officers were disabled by the murderous fire of the enemy, the assailants were compelled to retreat, pursued to within nine miles of Prome. The second column was not more fortunate, and after attacking a strong stockade, the fire from which nearly annihilated the advance, retired with so much precipitation that they were obliged to abandon their wounded. The third column escaped disaster by retreating as soon as there was reason to believe that the others had failed. The total loss in killed, wounded, and missing, exceeded 200.

Affair of Watigaon.

The Burmese, greatly encouraged by this success, were confident that under

A.D. 1825

A new Bur-
mese leader.His defeat
and deathRenewal of
negotiations

the leadership of an old retired veteran, of the name of Maha Nemyo, who had achieved it for them, they would yet compel the British to abandon Prome. To put this to the proof, they advanced nearer and nearer, till they were only a few miles distant. Sir Archibald Campbell was in hopes of turning their new confidence to account, and by throwing up earthworks and entrenchments, as if he were afraid of an attack, endeavoured to tempt them to become the assailants. The Burmese, however, were not to be allured from their usual mode of fighting, and continued to make their approaches with such an union of caution and perseverance, that it became necessary for the British once more to assume the offensive. Accordingly, on the 1st of December, Sir Archibald Campbell, leaving four native regiments in charge of Prome, marched out with the remainder of his force in two divisions, the one under himself, and the other under General Cotton. The second division arriving first, immediately stormed and carried the works which the enemy had constructed on the Nawain, a stream which runs past Prome before joining the Irawadi. Within the stockades were found 300 dead, including the veteran Maha Nemyo. This was by no means the whole of the Burmese loss, for the first division having arrived on the opposite bank of the Nawain, as they were abandoning the stockades, intercepted them in their flight, and added greatly to the slaughter. The enemy's left having been thus destroyed, the next movement was directed against their centre at Napadi, where Kye Wungyee commanded, and had advantageously stockaded himself on a series of heights. These, after the flotilla had sailed up the river, and taken up a position which enabled it to throw shells and rockets into the stockades on either bank, were gallantly carried by a detachment under Colonel Sale, who, having gained the summit without firing a shot, drove the Burmese from their entrenchments, and pursued them from hill to hill, till the whole position, embracing an extent of two miles, was secured. The enemy's right, which followed the Irawadi to Padong, was still entire, but General Cotton having crossed the river, succeeded, without much difficulty, in breaking it up, by carrying the works on the banks, and also a strong stockade at some distance in the interior.

During this campaign the Burmese had depended much on the aid of tributary tribes dwelling to the north of Ava, and known by the common name of Shans. These, so long as the cause seemed hopeful, had easily been induced to take an active part in the war. The late defeats, however, had completely altered their views, and they at once returned to their own country. The court of Ava, thus brought again to the brink of ruin, saw no hope of escape except in negotiation. On the 26th of December, when the British force had reached Meday, and were preparing for a further advance, a flag of truce arrived, with a message from the Burmese commander. It stated that full powers had been received from the court to conclude a treaty, and proposed that deputies should be sent to arrange the conditions. The British commander

consented as before, but in the meantime continued his march in the direction of the capital. On the 28th, the Burmese commander sent another message, proposing that the commissioners should meet to conclude the treaty on the 26th of January. As the proposal of this distant day was accompanied with a request for an interim suspension of hostilities, it was evident that nothing but delay was contemplated, and therefore the utmost concession that could be obtained was, that hostilities should be momentarily suspended, to allow the commissioners to meet in a boat, which was for that purpose anchored in the middle of the river. The meeting took place on the 30th, and after a good deal of discussion, which resulted in a considerable modification of the terms originally proposed, the definitive treaty was formally executed on the 3d of January, 1826. The result was as before. To give time for ratification, and on a promise that the British prisoners would be immediately sent down from Ava, and a first instalment of the pecuniary compensation paid, a short armistice was agreed to. It was to terminate on the 18th of January, and on the day immediately preceding, a deputation arrived. They brought neither the ratified treaty, nor the money, nor the prisoners, and simply requested a prolongation of the time. This was at once declined, and on the 18th, a British deputation proceeded to the Burmese camp, to offer the option of either returning the ratified treaty, or of evacuating the entrenchments at Melloon, situated across the river, directly opposite to the British camp at Patanagoh, by sunrise on the 20th. As they could not or would not comply with either alternative, hostilities recommenced.

A.D. 1826.

A definitive treaty executed, but not ratified.

Hostilities resumed.

During the armistice the Burmese, while pretending strictly to observe its conditions, had secretly strengthened their works and obtained reinforcements, and they now stood ready with an army of nearly 20,000 men to contend once more for victory. On the 19th the British batteries opened their fire, and the troops having crossed under cover of it, in two divisions, the one above and the other below, the Burmese hardly waited to be attacked, and made off with such celerity that it was in vain attempted to intercept their retreat. Within the works were found a great number of guns, and large supplies of ammunition and grain. Though thus again defeated with an ease which must have convinced the Burmese of their utter inability to continue the contest, the terms demanded, and more especially the payment of money, was felt by them to be so humiliating, that when a military chief came forward and pledged himself to expel the invaders, he was eagerly listened to. The utmost force which could now be assembled did not exceed 16,000 men, but these seemed quite sufficient to the boasting chief Zay-ya-thuyan, *alias* Nuring Phuring, "Prince of Sunset," who, attributing all previous disasters to the incompetence of the commanders, assured the king that he might confidently calculate on very different results. His Burmese majesty must have felt somewhat doubtful on the subject, since, at the very time when the Prince of Sunset was invested with the chief command,

A D 1820. an attempt was made to renew the negotiations, by employing as deputies for that purpose Mr. Price, an American missionary resident at Ava, and Mr. Snodgrass, the surgeon of the Royals, who had been taken prisoner.

New tactics
of the Prince
of Sunset

The British army, continuing its advance, arrived on the 8th of February, within five miles of Pagahm, an ancient city, which boasted of having been the capital of the Burman empire during the period of its greatest prosperity. Behind its brick wall, though ruinous, the Prince of Sunset might have found good cover, had he not disdained all tactics that savoured of timidity. Instead of entrenching himself within stockades, according to the Burmese mode of fighting, he had drawn up his army in the open field, and along the sides of a pathway leading through a thicket of prickly jungle. Indeed, what had he to fear if he was the consummate warrior he believed himself to be, while his force was at least tenfold more numerous than that opposed to him? Owing to the absence of two regiments employed in foraging, Sir Archibald Campbell could not muster more than 1300 fighting men. With this small body he moved to the attack on the morning of the 9th of February, and with very little difficulty cleared the field. Nuring Phuring hastened off with such rapidity that he was the first to bear to Ava the tidings of his own defeat. The object of all this haste was to solicit a new army, with which he would at once return and expel the invaders, but the court had had enough of him, and not satisfied with driving him contumeliously from the presence, put him to death that very evening.

Negotiations
renewed

The employment of the Prince of Sunset had been the last effort of despair, and it soon became evident that the resources of the Burmese empire were insufficient to prevent a mere handful of British soldiers from penetrating 500 miles into the interior of the country, and compelling the capital to surrender to them at discretion. After halting five days at Pagahm, Sir Archibald Campbell resumed his march, and had arrived at Yandaboo, within sixty miles of Ava, when negotiators arrived in the persons of two Burmese ministers and the two American missionaries, Messrs Price and Judson. As a proof of the sincerity of the court they were accompanied by a number of liberated prisoners, and brought with them twenty-five lacs of rupees (£250,000) as the first pecuniary instalment. The terms having been previously arranged, nothing remained but to give effect to them by a regular treaty. This was concluded, without giving rise to the least discussion, on the 24th of February, and ratified without any unnecessary delay. The treaty consisted of eleven articles, but after the incidental notice already taken of them, a full recapitulation would be superfluous. Aracan and the Tenasserim provinces were ceded in perpetuity to the British government, and the King of Ava renounced all right to interfere with Assam, Jyntra, and Kachar. The crore of rupees, declared to be not merely in indemnification of the expenses of the war, but "in proof of the sincere disposition of the Burmese government to maintain the relations of peace and amity

Conclusion
of treaty

between the two nations," was to be paid by four equal instalments—the first immediately, the second in a hundred days, the third at the end of a year, and the fourth at the expiry of two years. On the first payment the British army was to retire to Rangoon, and on the second to quit the Burmese dominions. Each state was to receive an accredited minister from the other, and a commercial treaty was to be framed on principles of reciprocal advantage.

A.D. 1826.

Peace con-
cluded

The Burmese war was never cordially sanctioned by the home authorities. The expense at which it was carried on was enormous, and the acquisitions of territory secured by it, though they have proved far more valuable than was at one time anticipated, must still be considered a dear purchase. The propriety of the war cannot be determined merely by counting the cost, and balancing the profit and loss. The Burmese were certainly bent on war, and every concession that could have been made to them would have been followed by some new demand. In point of fact they did ultimately lay claim to districts lying within the ancient recognized limits of Bengal, and nothing but the series of severe lessons which they received after hostilities commenced, sufficed to convince them that they were not the invincible warriors whom they had vainly imagined themselves to be. A Burmese war, therefore, however little to be desired on its own account, was sooner or later inevitable, and the Indian government which undertook it have a sufficient vindication in the fact that they only yielded to a necessity which was laid upon them. For the mode of conducting the war they and the commander to whom they intrusted it were strictly responsible, and it is here that the blame lies. They carried it on without any regular plan, committed gross blunders, from which careful inquiry, previously made, would have saved them, and incurred enormous expense and loss of life from scattering their forces instead of concentrating them, and engaging in wild expeditions without any reasonable prospect of an adequate result.

Review of
the Bur-
mese war.

CHAPTER VI

Tranquillity not perfectly established—Disturbances in various quarters—Proceedings at Kuttur and Kolapoor—Transactions in Bhurtpoor—Question of interference—Resignation and death of Sir David Ochterlony—Siege and capture of Bhurtpoor—State of affairs in Oude—Death of Sir Thomas Munro—Close of Earl Amherst's administration



T was scarcely to be expected that when the predatory system was suppressed, India would at once subside into a state of complete tranquillity. The multitudes who had pursued rapine as a trade though unable any longer to practise it in large and regularly organized bands were ready to avail themselves of every source of disturbance and not a few of the native princes, while they were pleased with the security which they enjoyed under British protection were dissatisfied with the sacrifices of independence at which it had been purchased. To the larger states the loss of territory and the humiliation which they had suffered were still more galling and nothing but the fear of subjecting themselves to more fatal disasters deterred them from once more hazarding a contest. British supremacy was thus recognized and submitted to from necessity not choice, and any events which seemed to promise an opportunity of subverting it were hailed with delight. The Burmese war gave full scope for the indulgence of these feelings. The natives of India entertained the most extravagant ideas of the strength and prowess of the Burmese. Not only were they known to be capable of bringing powerful armies into the field but they were also supposed to be in possession of magical arts by which they could render themselves invulnerable. The effect of these notions on the sepoys has already been seen. The order to prepare for marching to the seat of war became the signal for wholesale desertion and in one case was followed by a mutiny, which if it had not been speedily suppressed by force would probably have spread over the whole of the native army of Bengal. It is hence easy to understand how a general feeling of restlessness and discontent gradually displayed itself in proportion as the country began to be tired of troops in order to meet the demands of a foreign war and how every rumour of disaster confirmed the belief that the British, in encountering the Burmese, were rushing blindly on their own destruction. Altogether apart from the Burmese war there were many causes of disturbance at work, and when to these this war was added the only wonder is that the overt acts to which they led were not more numerous and of a more formidable description. Some of these which interrupted the internal tranquillity of India during Earl Amherst's administration will now be mentioned.

A D 184

Various sources of disturbance in India

In the north-west, among the protected Sikh states, a religious mendicant announced his advent as Kali, the last of the Hindoo avatars, for the purpose of putting an end to the reign of foreigners. The supposed desirableness of the event sufficed to produce a general expectation of it; and though the precaution had been taken to arrest the mendicant, and he was paying the penalty of his imposture in prison when the day appointed for the advent arrived, a riotous multitude assembled, and were not dispersed till military force was employed. In the same quarter a predatory leader having assembled a large band of followers made himself master of the fort of Kunjawa, at no great distance from Saharanpoor, assumed the title of rajah, and began to levy contributions on the surrounding districts. Numbers flocked to him from all quarters, and the insurrection was assuming a regularly organized form, when a body of troops, collected with some difficulty, marched against his stronghold, and succeeded in dislodging him after 150 of his followers had been slain. At some distance to the south-west, on the borders of Rajpootana, and even in the vicinity of Delhi, the Mewattées and Bhattées, and other bands of plunderers, taking advantage of the withdrawal of the troops which had overawed them, resumed their depredations, and carried them on to such an extent that for a short time the communication with Delhi was interrupted, and order was not restored till an increase of military force had been obtained. At Calpee on the Jumna, about fifty miles south-west of Cawnpoor, a refractory jaghirdar of the Rajah of Jaloun suddenly appeared with a considerable body of horse and foot, and after an unsuccessful attempt to seize the fort, containing an amount of public treasure, plundered and set fire to the town. In Malwah various sinister rumours were circulated, and it was even represented that owing to the difficulties of the Burmese war the British were about to retire altogether from Central India. It was probably owing in part to these absurd rumours that in one locality a rising was organized, and that in the vicinity of Boorhanpoor, among the jungles which extend to the north of the Taptee, between Aseerghur and Ellichpoor, Sheikh Dalla, an old Pindaree leader, collected a strong body of horse and foot, and did serious mischief before he was effectually checked. The Bheels too began again to grow troublesome, and were with difficulty restrained from resuming their predatory habits.

A.D. 1824.

Outbreaks
at Saharan-
poor, Cal-
pee, &c.

Still farther to the south, in the Mahratta country, some serious disturbances occurred. Kittoor, situated to the east of the Portuguese territory of Goa, and to the north-west of Darwar, was, with the adjoining district, held under the Company. On the death of the chief without children, in September, 1824, the grant was understood to have lapsed, but the natives, who had previously been intrusted with the management of the district, being unwilling to relinquish it, endeavoured to secure its continuance, by alleging that the chief, previous to his death, authorized his wife and his mother to adopt a son for him. In accordance with this pretended injunction a boy very distantly related to his

Mahratta
disturbance
at Kittoor

A.D. 1821.

Revolt at
Kittoor

family was brought forward and recognized as his successor. The whole proceeding was informal. The adoption to be valid ought to have taken place during the chief's lifetime, and at all events no subsequent steps ought to have been taken without the sanction of the paramount power. On these grounds, and also because he believed that the real object of the proceedings was to favour the ambition of a faction, and carry off the accumulated treasure of the late chief, to the detriment of his widow, Mr. Thackeray, the British collector, refused to recognize the new arrangements, and in the meantime, while waiting instructions from Bombay, took possession of the treasure, and assumed the management of the district. No opposition was offered, and in order to prevent the treasure within the fort from being clandestinely carried off, it was sealed up and a guard placed over it. The collector, with his two assistants, was encamped without the fort with an escort consisting of a company of native horse-artillery and a company of native infantry, and on the 23d of October, on sending as usual to relieve the guard over the treasure, was astonished to learn that the gates had been shut, and that all admission was refused. On the spur of the moment an attempt was made to force an entrance and issued in a lamentable disaster. The collector and the two officers commanding the escort were killed, another British officer was wounded, and the two assistants being taken prisoners, were carried into the fort and detained as a kind of hostages. This revolt, apparently trivial in itself, acquired importance from the general excitement which it produced, and the obvious sympathy of the surrounding population with the insurgents. It was necessary, therefore, to lose no time in arresting the insurrectionary spirit, and a large body of troops under Colonel Deacon was immediately despatched against Kitoor. Though the garrison must have seen from the first that their case was desperate, they refused to surrender, and only yielded at last after the batteries had opened and effected a practicable breach.

Proceedings
of the Rajah
of Kolapoor

At Kolapoor, the capital of another Mahratta territory, situated among the Western Ghauts, the disturbance was of a still more serious character. The rajah, boasting a direct descent from Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, had a high idea of his own importance, and where he imagined he had a right, thought himself entitled, without consulting any other power, to take his own mode of enforcing it. Acting on this view he made a claim of supremacy over the district of Kagal, in possession of Hindoo Row, a brother-in-law of Scindia, and when the claim was disputed marched a body of troops into the district and took forcible possession of it. Scindia, offended at this treatment of his near relative, applied to the British government on the subject, and complained with some show of justice, that while his own hands were tied up by a treaty which did not allow him to interfere, the Rajah of Kolapoor was allowed to deprive others of rights which were as good as his own, and thus virtually set the paramount power at defiance. This non-interference on the part of the government produced its usual fruits, and the rajah, finding his first encroach-

ments unchallenged, proceeded to make them on a more extensive scale. The next object of his attack was a zemindar, holding partly of the Rajah of Satarah and partly of the Bombay presidency. Even this did not satisfy him, and he was soon seen at the head of a body of 6000 horse and foot, and a brigade of artillery, plundering and levying contributions. The Bombay government, who had hitherto shown the greatest reluctance to interfere, became convinced at last that it had become indispensable, and sent a detachment, before which the rajah retired to his capital. His cowardice appears to have been as great as his arrogance, and he at once professed submission. A treaty was accordingly made by which he renounced all claim to the territories which he had seized, agreed to pay compensation for the depredations he had committed, and became restricted to the employment of a limited number of troops. As soon as the withdrawal of the detachment relieved him from his more immediate alarm, he forgot all these stipulations, and began again to pursue a course which made it necessary to bind him by still more stringent obligations. The consequence was that British garrisons were stationed in his forts of Kolapoor and Panala, and he lost even the semblance of independence.

A D 1824

Submission
of the Rajah
of Kolapoor.

Some disturbances which took place in Cutch towards the end of 1824 derive importance chiefly from the encouragement given to them by the Ameers of Scinde, who were again feeling their way, and watching an opportunity of effecting a long-meditated conquest. The despatch of strong reinforcements from Bombay under Colonel Napier, and the successful termination of the Burmese war, convinced the Ameers that, at least for the present, their safest course was to keep the peace. In another quarter not yet mentioned the disturbance was not so easily suppressed, and led to results of greater historical importance than any that have yet been mentioned. The treaty which was made with the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, after Lord Lake had failed in four successive attempts to storm his capital, had been faithfully observed on both sides, and the relations between the two governments had long been of the most friendly description. In 1824 the reigning rajah, Baldeo Sing, feeling his own life to be precarious, was anxious to secure the succession to his son Bulwant Sing, who was then a minor. Under ordinary circumstances he could not have doubted that this son, whose legitimacy was undisputed and indisputable, would succeed, but he had a nephew, Durjan Sal, whose ambitious designs filled him with the greatest alarm, and it occurred to him that the most effectual method of frustrating these designs would be to place his son under the immediate protection of the British government. With this view he applied to Sir David Ochterlony, the British resident at Delhi, and induced him to invest Bulwant Sing with a *khelat* or honorary dress, in recognition of his being the apparent heir. This ceremony was performed in the beginning of 1824, and about twelve months after the succession opened by the death of Baldeo Sing.

State of
Matters in
Cutch and
Bhurtpoor.

Bulwant Sing, who was then only about six years of age, was immediately

A D. 1823.

Usurpation
of Durjan
Sal in
Bhurtpoor.Death of
Sir David
Ochterlony.

recognized as rajah, while his maternal uncle Ram Ratan Sing, acting as his guardian, conducted the government. This arrangement had scarcely subsisted for a month, when Durjan Sal justified all the suspicions which the late rajah had entertained of him, by gaining over the soldiers, forcing his way into the citadel, slaying Ram Ratan Sing, and gaining possession of the person of the young rajah. Sir David Ochterlony, holding these proceedings to be equivalent to an usurpation of supreme authority, immediately issued a proclamation to the Jats, denouncing Durjan Sal as an usurper, and calling upon them to support their legitimate sovereign, in whose cause he would soon appear at the head of a British force. This decided step was so far effectual that Durjan Sal, who was suspected of a design of clearing his way to the throne by the murder of the rajah, professed to have no other intention than to act as regent during his minority. This office, according to his own account, he had accepted in accordance with the wishes of the whole tribe, whom Ram Ratan Sing's tyrannical conduct had disgusted. This explanation, though plausible, was not deemed satisfactory, and on his declining either to visit the British cantonments or intrust the young rajah to British custody, Sir David Ochterlony hastily assembled a considerable force, with the determination of at once marching against Bhurtpoor. These warlike preparations were suddenly arrested by a letter from the governor-general in council, condemning them in terms so unmeasured, that Sir David Ochterlony felt he had no alternative but to resign. The abrupt prohibition of an expedition which it seemed impossible to delay without a sacrifice both of honour and sound policy, cut him to the heart, and he died shortly after at Meerut, complaining loudly to the last of the harsh manner in which he had been virtually dismissed. He had served the Company faithfully and with distinguished ability for fifty years, and it is therefore impossible not to regret that his retirement, which, owing to his increasing infirmities, had doubtless become expedient, was effected by means which gave it all the appearance of an intended disgrace. The public immediately testified their sense of his merits by the erection of a monument to him in Calcutta, and government gave all the compensation which was now in their power, by issuing, on the 28th of July, 1823, a general order, highly eulogistic of his talents, diplomatic as well as military, and directing, "as an especial testimony" of high respect for his services, and "as a public demonstration of sorrow for his demise," that minute guns, to the number of sixty-eight, corresponding with his age, should be fired from the ramparts of Fort-William.

It is rather singular that the principle of non-interference, for the maintenance of which government had been so resolute when Sir David Ochterlony's military preparations called forth their censure, was afterwards expressly abandoned. The inconsistency, however, becomes less glaring on considering that the opposite decisions were given under different circumstances. When Sir David Ochterlony determined to use force, the means of negotiation were

not apparently exhausted. Durjan Sal was aspiring professedly to nothing more than the regency, and seemed willing to come under an engagement to retire as soon as the rajah should attain majority. This was probably mere pretence, but as he seemed to be countenanced by the leading chiefs among the Jats, it was not unreasonably considered impolitic, if not quixotic, to enter into a new war which threatened to be formidable, for the purpose of forcing a new government upon a people who were living in tolerable tranquillity under the one actually existing. But a very short time had sufficed to give the case an entirely new aspect. Durjan Sal, on learning that the British military preparations had been countermanded, had thrown off the mask, and intimated that instead of being satisfied with the regency he now claimed possession as legal heir. He had been adopted, he said, by a previous rajah, and had therefore a preferable title. At the same time that he put forth this new claim he showed that nothing but force would compel him to abandon it, and military adventurers began to flock from all quarters to Bhurtpoor, as a common rendezvous where they might hope to be soon actively employed. The apparent unanimity which at one time prevailed among the Jats themselves had also been destroyed. Madhoo Sing, a younger brother of Durjan Sal, after supporting him in all his proceedings, had suddenly separated from him and made himself master of Deeg, and it was becoming obvious that there would soon be no alternative between forcible interference and the toleration of a state of anarchy which could hardly fail to extend to other native states.

A.D. 1825.

Further Proceedings of Durjan Sal.

The necessity of British interference

Under these circumstances the whole question was submitted to Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had been summoned from Hyderabad, where he was resident, to succeed Sir David Ochterlony at Delhi. He was one of a band of able diplomatists who had received their first training under the Marquis of Wellesley, and had ever since been strenuous supporters of the Indian policy which that great statesman inaugurated. The view which the favourite pupil of such a master would give could hardly be doubtful. It is thus explained in a very able paper which he drew up on the occasion:—"We have, by degrees, become the paramount state of India. Although we exercised the powers of this supremacy in many instances before 1817, we have used and asserted them more generally since the existence of our influence by the events of that and the following year. It then became an established principle of our policy to maintain tranquillity among all the states of India, and to prevent the anarchy and misrule which were likely to disturb the general peace. Sir John Malcolm's proceedings in Malwah were governed by this principle, as well as those of Sir David Ochterlony. In the case of succession to a principality, it seems clearly incumbent on us, with reference to that principle, to refuse to acknowledge any but the lawful successor, as otherwise we should throw the weight of our power into the scale of usurpation and injustice. Our influence is too pervading to admit of neutrality, and sufferance would operate as

A.D. 1825.

Sir Charles
Metcalf's
opinion in
regard to in-
terference in
Bhurtpoor

support." The application of these principles to the case in question was sufficiently obvious. "We are bound not by any positive engagement to the Bhurtpoor state, nor by any claim on her part, but by our duty as supreme guardians of general tranquillity, law, and right, to maintain the right of Rajul Bulwant Sing to the raj of Bhurtpoor, and we cannot acknowledge any other pretender. This duty seems to me so imperative that I do not attach any peculiar importance to the late investiture of the young rajah in the presence of Sir David Ochterlony. We should have been equally bound without that ceremony, which, if we had not been under a pre-existing obligation to maintain the rightful succession, would not have pledged us to anything beyond acknowledgment." With regard to the regency and the two brothers Durjan Sal and Madhoo Sing, the competing claimants for the office, Sir Charles Metcalfe did not think that any final decision was yet required, but his present conviction was thus expressed: "We are not called upon to support either brother; and if we must act by force it would seem to be desirable to banish both." Negotiation might yet prove effectual, and was undoubtedly the most desirable mode of settlement; but if recourse to arms should become necessary, there would "not be wanting sources of consolation," since "a display and vigorous exercise of our power, if rendered necessary, would be likely to bring back men's minds in that quarter to a proper tone, and the capture of Bhurtpoor, if effected in a glorious manner, would do us more honour throughout India, by the removal of the hitherto unfaded impressions caused by our former failure, than any other event that can be conceived."

Adoption of
the same
views by the
governor-
general

The above extracts from the opinion given by Sir Charles Metcalfe, are the more important from their having practically decided the question, and made a convert of the governor-general. "I have hitherto," said Earl Amherst, "entertained the opinion that our interference with other states should be limited to cases of positive injury to the honourable Company, or of immediate danger thereof. In that opinion I have reason to believe that I am not supported by the servants of the honourable Company most competent to judge of its interests, and best acquainted with the circumstances of this country: I should therefore have hesitated in acting upon my own judgment in opposition to others; but I am further free to confess that my own opinion has undergone some change, and that I am disposed to think that a system of non-interference, which appears to have been tried and to have failed in 1806, would be tried with less probability of success, and would be exposed to more signal failure, after the events which have occurred, and the policy which has been pursued during the last nineteen or twenty years. A much greater degree of interference than was formerly called for, appears to have resulted from the hazardous experiment to relax in the exercise of that paramount authority which our extended influence in Malwah and Rajpootana specially has imposed

cally equal to that of the besiegers. The British army, marching in two divisions, which had assembled at Agra and Madura—the former under General Jasper Nicolls, and the latter under General Thomas Reynell—started on the 7th and 8th December, and were soon across the Bhurtpoor frontier. On the 10th, the Madura division moved toward the north-west, keeping considerably to the north of the fort, and screened from view by an intervening forest, and arrived in the vicinity of the Motee Jheel, from which the ditch which surrounded the fort derived its supply of water. At the former siege by Lord Lake, the failure of one of these attacks was attributed to a sudden and unexpected increase of the water, by opening the sluices of the Jheel. The possibility of such an occurrence was now happily prevented by sending forward a column, which, by gaining and retaining possession of the embankment and sluices of the Jheel, prevented the enemy from drawing any water from it. The consequence was, that throughout the siege the ditch continued almost dry, and thus relieved the besiegers from what might have proved one of their most serious difficulties.

An account of the situation and defences of Bhurtpoor having been given on the occasion of the former siege, it is only necessary here to repeat, that it stood in a plain somewhat rugged towards the west, covered an area of about five miles in circuit, and was inclosed by a broad and deep ditch, from the inner edge of which rose a thick and lofty wall of sun-burned clay, flanked by thirty-five turreted bastions. The citadel occupied a height towering above the rest of the town, and was inclosed by a ditch 150 feet wide and 50 deep.

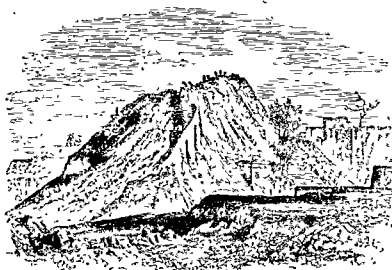
As the extent of the fortifications made it impossible completely to invest the place, the first division took up a position which, resting on the Jheel on the north-west, extended along the northern face; the second division, connected with the left of the first, fronted the eastern face. The southern and western faces were thus left nearly open, but by means of posts gradually established beyond the southern and western faces, and in communication with each other, the admission of reinforcements as well as the escape of the garrison was in a great measure prevented. The points selected for attack were a ravelin a little to the east of a principal gateway on the north-eastern face, and a bastion on the eastern face, which, jutting out from the ramparts by a narrow neck, received the name of the Long-necked Bastion. On the 23d of December ground was broken for the purpose of making regular approaches towards these two points, and on the 24th the batteries which had been erected began to play upon them. At first a brisk fire was kept up by the garrison, and bodies of horse and foot made desultory attempts to interrupt the progress of the siege, but in proportion as the batteries were advanced and established an overpowering fire, the enemy's guns were withdrawn from the outer works, and the besiegers suffered little interruption while they continued for several days a heavy fire of shot and shells from forty-eight battering guns and thirty-six mortars. The

A D 1825

Expedition
against
BhurtpoorNature of its
defencesCommence-
ment and
progress of
the siege.

effect produced, however, was not satisfactory. The clay ramparts stood the fire better than if they had been built of solid masonry, and though considerable breaches both to the right and left had been made, the engineers refused to report them practicable. The mode of attack was therefore changed, and after the trenches had been brought close to the counterscarp of the ditch, the process of breaching by mines instead of batteries was adopted. By the 8th of January four mines were sprung, one of them under the cavalier and curtain of the north-eastern angle; and though the effect produced was still short of what had been anticipated, the dilapidation produced was sufficient to show that perseverance in mining could hardly fail to succeed. On the 11th and 12th mines were carried across the ditch and beneath the ramparts, and on the 16th the mine beneath the Long-necked Bastion was sprung with complete success. The garrison made some attempts to countermine and also to repair the breaches. In the former they completely failed, and in the latter were exposed to such a tremendous fire from the batteries that their success was very partial. The assault was now at hand. It was fixed for the 18th, and was to commence on

The Bhurtpoor
taken by
storm



LONG-NECKED BASTION, BHURTPOOR.—From Creighton's Siege of Bhurtpoor.

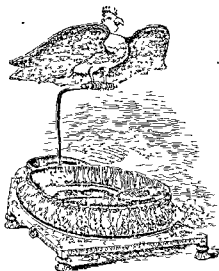
a very appropriate signal—the explosion of a mine which had been driven under the N.E.E. cavalier, and charged with nearly a ton weight of gunpowder. The effect was tremendous, and proved fatal even to some of the assailants as they stood ready in the trenches. After a momentary pause, produced by this accident, the storming party rushed forward in two columns, and were speedily on the summit of the main breaches on the right and left. Though the enemy made a resolute defence it soon proved unavailing, and the assailants, as soon as the first struggle was over, completed the capture with a loss of about 600 men. The loss of the garrison in killed and wounded was estimated at 14,000.

During the storm strong bodies of horse and foot attempted to escape by

A.D. 1823.

Rajah of
Bhurtpoor
restored

the western gates. Most of them were cut down or captured by the cavalry. Among the prisoners thus taken was Durjan Sal, with his wife and two sons. He was forthwith sent off as a state prisoner to Allahabad. On the 19th of



SILVER HOWDAH OF DURJAN SAL,¹ the Usurper of Mysore.—In the Museum of the East India Company

Fortifica-
tions of
Bhurtpoor
dismantled

January, Lord Combermere and Sir Charles Metcalfe entered the citadel, and on the following day they performed the ceremony of placing the young rajah on the throne. The principal widow of the late rajah, appointed nominal regent, was intrusted with the custody of his person, while the government was committed to two ministers, who were to administer it under the control of a British resident specially appointed to Bhurtpoor. Madhoo Sing, the brother of Durjan Sal, immediately made his submission, and retired from Deeg to live within the British territories on a liberal pension. By the capture of Bhurtpoor a stain which had long rested on the British arms was removed, and the hopes of a future rising, which its supposed impregnability had fostered in several of the native states, were extinguished. As it was not impossible, however, that it might again have become a rallying point for the disaffected, its fortifications were dismantled. The expediency of this proceeding cannot be questioned, but since the British government were professedly acting, not for themselves, but for an ally, it sounds rather strange to hear that one of the first things they did after reinstating him in his capital, was to render it incapable of defence. In another respect the conduct of the captors was still less justifiable: "Our plundering here under the name of prize," writes Sir Charles Metcalfe, "has been very disgraceful, and has tarnished our well-earned honour. Until I get rid of the prize agents I cannot re-establish the sovereignty of the young rajah, whom we came professedly to protect, and have been plundering to his last lotah since he fell into our hands."²

There was still one other quarter in which the paramount authority of the British government had been called in question. The Rajah of Macherry, or as he is usually called, the Rajah of Ulwar, from his capital, situated sixty miles W.N.W. of Bhurtpoor, having died, leaving an illegitimate son and a nephew, both in nonage, his succession was disputed by their respective partizans. Ulti-

¹ This is made of thin plates of silver, very beautifully wrought, fixed on the exterior of a wooden framing. The bottom of the howdah is of open cane work, and the sides are covered with crimson silk, of which material also are made the cushions. The canopy is of extremely ungainly form, but is very

curious from being in the shape of a crested bird with outstretched wings. The body, head, and outside of the wings are covered with silver, the underside of the latter being lined with crimson flowered silk.

² *Kaye's Life of Lord Metcalfe*, vol. ii. p. 155.

mately, as neither had a decided ascendancy, a compromise was effected, by which Benec Sing, the nephew, became nominal rajah, and Bulwant Sing, the son, was to administer the government on attaining majority. Till then Ahmed Buksh Khan, the nabob of a neighbouring district under British protection, was to be his guardian. The peace produced by this compromise was not lasting. As soon as the youths grew up their mutual claims were revived, and a civil war began again to rage. In 1824, the nephew, Benec Sing, gained a decided ascendancy, and became real as well as nominal rajah, the son, Bulwant Sing, retiring upon a jaghire. Shortly after an attempt was made to assassinate Ahmed Buksh Khan, and the assassin being seized, confessed that he had been employed by Mulha, the rajah's minister and favourite, and some other leading members of his court. Ahmed Buksh Khan, being prohibited by treaty with the British from redressing himself, applied to them for protection, and a demand was therefore made upon the rajah to seize the persons accused, and send them to Delhi for trial. He at first made a show of compliance by placing the parties in nominal confinement, but soon threw off the mask, took Mulha into greater favour than before, and when remonstrated with by the resident at Delhi, maintained, not without plausibility, that as an independent prince he alone was entitled to try his subjects for any crimes alleged to have been committed by them. To give effect to this view, and show that nothing but force would compel him to abandon it, he strengthened the defences of his capital, began to collect troops, and entered into communications with disaffected parties, and more especially with Durjan Sal, at Bhurtpoor. The capture of this celebrated stronghold filled him with dismay, and he no sooner heard that the victorious army which achieved it was about to march against him than he hastened to make his submission, by sending off the parties accused as instigators of the attempted assassination of Ahmed Buksh Khan to take their trial at Delhi, releasing Bulwant Sing from the prison in which he had confined him, and, moreover, ceding to him one-half of the territory which Sir George Barlow, when he was foolishly squandering away the conquests of the Marquis of Wellesley, had bestowed on the Row Rajah of Macherry.

A.D. 1825

British interference
in Ulwar

All open hostilities throughout India having now ceased, Earl Amherst, who had intimated his intention to resign, set out, in the beginning of August, 1826, on a tour through the Upper provinces. On his arrival at Cawnpore, on the 16th of November, he was visited among other native princes by Glazeeud-din Hyder, the King of Oude. To return the visit he proceeded to Lucknow. In the confidential intercourse which ensued, the subject of internal interference was again discussed, the king complaining of the extent to which his legitimate authority was appropriated by the resident, and insisting that there was nothing in the state of the country to justify it. On the borders, the turbulence of some refractory chiefs led to occasional disturbances, but the whole of the territory was, with a few exceptions, cultivated like a garden, and the people

Visit of the
governor-
general to
Lucknow.

A D 1827

Alleged
grievances
of the King
of Oude.

were apparently contented. These representations, if well founded, derived much additional weight from the conduct of the king, who, though far too much under the influence of favourites, male and female, had not only faithfully fulfilled his engagements, but repeatedly relieved the embarrassments of the Calcutta treasury by liberal loans from the hoards of Sadut Ali. In addition to the large advances formerly mentioned he had, in the end of 1825, lent the Company in perpetuity the sum of £1,000,000 sterling at five per cent interest, and a few months afterwards had increased it by another £500,000. Neither his remonstrances nor his loans had the effect of producing any essential change in the British policy, and his grievances, real or imaginary, remained undressed when he died in October, 1827, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Soliman Jah, under the title of Nasir-ud-din Hyder.

Relations
of British
government
with Holkar
and Scindia

From Lucknow the governor-general proceeded to Agra, where he arrived in January, 1827. Here he was visited by the various chiefs of Malwah, and received missions from Holkar and Scindia. The former being still a minor was probably thought too young, and the latter was pining away under a mortal disease which made it impossible for him to be personally present. The territories of Holkar, under the able management of his minister Tantra Jog, and the almost absolute control of Mr. Wellesley, the British resident, had rapidly improved; those of Scindia now enjoyed a degree of tranquillity which had long been denied, but in their present extent and resources presented a humiliating contrast to what they were thirty years before, during the first period of Dowlut Row Scindia's reign. He had sometimes dreamed that during a period of disaster to the British arms he might yet regain all he had lost, but latterly he had become more reconciled to his lot, and sought compensation for disappointed ambition in indolence and luxurious indulgence. He died in March, 1827, without any heir of his own body, and without having appointed any successor; but in accordance with what was supposed to be his wish, a boy of eleven years of age, distantly related to his family, was, with the sanction of the British government, raised to the throne, and placed under the guardianship of his favourite wife, Baiza Bai, as regent.

Interview
of Lord
Amherst
with King
of Delhi

After a visit to the young Rajah of Bhurtpoor Lord Amherst proceeded to Delhi, where he was met by envoys from the different Rajpoot states, and was compelled to discuss some questions of precedence with the Mogul, who would fain, in the midst of his humiliation, have received the governor-general as a vassal, and exacted the homage which he claimed as his superior. The time for such mummary had passed away, and before the visit terminated the King of Delhi was made perfectly aware that his existence as a territorial sovereign had ceased, and that he must henceforth be contented to regard himself as only a stipendiary of the Company. From Delhi, Lord Amherst continued his journey northward to Simla, which thus, for the first time, became a temporary residence for the Governors-general of India. While here, he interchanged

friendly missions with Runjeet Sing, and received intelligence of the hostilities which had again broken out between Persia and Russia, and, in consequence of the continued encroachments of the latter power, excited in certain quarters no small alarm for the future safety of our Indian empire. The governor-general

A D 1827.



SIMLA.—From a drawing by Major Luard.

quitted Simla in the end of June on his return to Calcutta. About a week afterwards, on the 6th of July 1827 the government of India was deprived by death of one of its most distinguished servants, Sir Thomas Monro, governor of Madras. The length of his service and the state of his health had made him desirous to return home, and by a letter addressed to the directors on the 25th of September, 1823, he had requested permission to resign in January, 1825. The Burmese war compelled him to forego his intention, and he exerted his utmost energies in forwarding troops and furnishing supplies. When the war terminated, he renewed his request to be relieved at the earliest period possible. His letter was received in September, 1826, but unfortunately no immediate steps were taken, and it was only in January, 1827, after nearly four months had elapsed, that new governors were in one day appointed to the presidencies of Madras and Bombay—the Right Hon. S. R. Lushington to the former, as successor to Sir Thomas Monro, and Sir John Malcolm to the latter, as successor to the Hon Mountstuart Elphinstone. More than four months elapsed before the new governors took their departure. So far as regarded Sir Thomas Monro it was too late. During a visit which he paid to the districts north of Mysore, in which he had long and successfully laboured, he was seized with cholera, and died at Puteecindali, not far from Gooty.

Death of
Sir Thomas
MonroNew govern-
ors of
Madras and
Bombay

The internal administration of Lord Amherst does not require any lengthened notice. In Bengal, which was under his more immediate superintendence, the different public departments were left nearly as he found them; but both in

A D 1827.

Close of Lord
Amherst's
administra-
tion

Madras and Bombay most important improvements, of which the chief merit belongs to Sir Thomas Monro and Mr. Elphinstone, were introduced. The leading object of both these distinguished men was to adapt their reforms to the feelings and habits of the population, and in particular, to employ native agency wherever it could be made available, rather as an auxiliary to European agency than as a substitute for it. The enormous expenditure of the Burmese war had greatly embarrassed the Indian finances. Above ten millions sterling had been permanently added to the debt. At the same time, while the charges had increased, the revenues had diminished, so as to leave in 1827-28 a local deficit of above a million. The account, comparing the close of Lord Amherst's administration with its commencement, stood as follows: In 1822-23, revenue, £23,118,000, charge, £18,406,000. In 1827-28, revenue, £22,863,000; charge, £21,974,000. In 1822-23, debt, £29,388,000; in 1827-28, debt, £39,606,000. The financial prospect was thus rather alarming, but as the increased expenditure had been occasioned by wars which were happily terminated, there was ground to hope that by careful economy the temporary embarrassment which had been produced, would soon disappear. In February, 1828, Earl Amherst, owing to the illness of a member of his family, sailed for England without waiting for the arrival of a successor. In the interval, the government was administered by Mr. Butterworth Bayley, who succeeded to it as senior member of council.

CHAPTER VII.

Lord William Bentinck governor general—Economical and judicial reforms—Opium regulations—Abolition of Suttee—Rights of Christian converts from Hinduism—Collision between supreme court and government of Bombay—Settlement of North western provinces—Measures against Thuggee—Internal disturbances in Assam, Tenasserim, Mysore, and Coorg

Lord William
Bentinck

THE last Lord William Bentinck had succeeded in obtaining the appointment of governor-general. He had been abruptly deprived in 1807 of the government of Madras by a resolution of the directors, which declared, "that although the zeal and integrity of the present governor, Lord William Bentinck, are deserving of the court's approbation; yet, when they consider the unhappy events which have taken place at Vellore, and also other parts of his lordship's administration which have come before them, the court are of opinion that it is expedient, for the restoration of confidence in the Company's

government, that Lord William Bentinck should be removed, and he is hereby removed accordingly." He complained loudly of the treatment, and in an appeal to the directors thus expressed himself: "The mutiny at Vellore cannot be imputed to me, directly or indirectly. I have been removed from my situation, and condemned as an accomplice in measures with which I had no further concern than to obviate their ill consequences; my dismissal was effected in a manner harsh and mortifying; and the forms which custom has prescribed to soften the severity of a misfortune, at all events sufficiently severe, were on this single occasion violated, as if for the express purpose of deepening my disgrace." He concluded thus: "I have been severely injured in my character and feelings. For these injuries I ask reparation, if, indeed, any reparation can atone for feelings so deeply aggrieved, and a character so unjustly compromised in the eyes of the world."



LORD WILLIAM CAVENTISH BENTINCK.
After a picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence

In complying with my demands, you will discharge, if I may venture to say so, what is due no less to your own honour than to mine." The court answered this appeal by long and verbose resolutions, in which, while admitting "the charges originally advanced against the conduct of the governor and commander-in-chief respecting the violations of caste, to have been, in the sense then attached to them, misapplied and defective," yet, "as the misfortunes which happened in their administration placed their fate under the government of public events and opinions which the court could not control, so it is not now in their power to alter the effects of them." In regard to Lord William Bentinck in particular, the apology was somewhat amplified by such expressions as the following:—"But in the abruptness of the order of removal the court meant no personal disrespect to Lord William Bentinck, and extremely regret that his feelings have been wounded by considering it in that light. They lament that it should have been his fate to have his public situation decided by a crisis of such difficulty and danger as it has been the lot of very few public men to encounter; a crisis which they have since been happy to find was not produced by intended or actual violations of caste, as they are now satisfied that Lord William Bentinck had no share in originating the orders which for a time bore that character, and by the machinations of enemies working upon the ignorance and prejudices of the sepoys, were by them believed to be such violations." Again: "But in all the measures of moderation, clemency, and consideration, recommended by Lord

Lord William Bentinck a candidate for the office of governor-general.

A D 1827.

Lord William
Bentinck

William Bentinck after the mutiny, the court, though not exactly agreeing with him in the data from which he reasoned, give him unqualified praise; and though the unfortunate events which separated Lord William Bentinck from the service of the Company cannot be recalled, yet the court are happy to bear testimony to the uprightness, disinterestedness, zeal, respect to the system of the Company, and in many instances, success, with which he acted in the government of Fort St. George, and to express their best wishes that his valuable qualities and honourable character may be employed, as they deserve, for the benefit of his country."

Is appointed
governor
general

This apology was by no means satisfactory, and Lord William Bentinck was determined not to rest satisfied till he had wiped off the disgrace to which he conceived the directors had unjustly subjected him by their abrupt dismissal. For many years afterwards he was employed in the service of his country, both as a soldier and a diplomatist, but his thoughts were still turned to India, and his ambition was to return to it in possession of a higher appointment than that of which he had been deprived. Such an appointment would be the best of all modes of reparation, since it would at once reverse the sentence of incapacity which had been pronounced against him, and furnish him with an opportunity of practically demonstrating his abilities as an Indian administrator. Accordingly, as has been mentioned, he became, on the retirement of the Marquis of Hastings, a candidate for the office of governor-general. On that occasion Lord Amherst was preferred, but Lord William Bentinck did not allow his claims to be forgotten, and when the office again became vacant, succeeded in obtaining it. The appointment was in itself a great triumph to Lord William Bentinck, as it was impossible to resist the inference that if he was fit to be governor-general, he ought not to have been dismissed as unfit to be governor of Madras. For a time, however, it seemed doubtful if the appointment was to prove anything more than a barren honour. He received it in July, 1827, but the ministry which had sanctioned his nomination, sustained by the death of Mr. Canning in August a shock from which it never recovered, and though the same political party continued for a short time to retain office under Lord Goderich, the ministry of the Duke of Wellington displaced it before Lord William Bentinck had taken his departure. It thus became a question whether the longing for patronage might not prevail, and induce the new ministers to annul the appointment by putting in force the crown's undoubted power of recall. To their honour they adopted a more becoming course, and Lord William Bentinck was permitted to depart. He set sail in February, 1828, and immediately on his arrival at Calcutta on the 4th of July, assumed the government.

Arrives at
Calcutta.

As all hostilities had previously ceased and the country was generally tranquil, the first duty of the new administration was sufficiently obvious. A large addition had been made to the debt, and the revenue was more than 2

million sterling short of the expenditure. It was impossible that such a state of matters could be allowed to continue, and accordingly before the actual arrival of the new governor-general, Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had been called from Delhi to a seat in the council board, only expressed the common resolution of himself and his colleagues when he said, "The government which allows this to go on in time of peace deserves any punishment. The government of which I am a part shall not allow it." Lord William Bentinck was animated by the same spirit, perhaps in a still more eminent degree, and during his interviews with the directors had the subject so strongly forced upon his notice, that he arrived with a determination to institute a rigid examination into every branch of the public expenditure, and carry economy to its utmost limits. The home authorities had assumed the scale of expenditure in 1823-24 as a fair standard, and Lord William Bentinck was prepared to give practical effect to their views. It must be admitted, however, that his first measure of economy was not wisely chosen, as the justice of it was questioned by high authority, and the clamour and discontent which it occasioned more than counterbalanced the paltry saving which it effected.

A D 1838.

Lord William
Bentinck's
policy of re-
trenchment

The subject of *batta* or *battha*, a word which merely signifies "extra pay or allowance," has been already mentioned. It consisted of a fixed addition which was made to the pay of the officers of the army when they were in the field within the territories of the Company. At an early period the allowance was doubled when the service was beyond these territories, or rendered to native princes, who took this way of testifying their gratitude to such valuable auxiliaries. It was thus paid by Meer Jaffier when he was made Nabob of Bengal, and the reduction of it by the Company, after the grant of the dewanee had thrown the burden of the payment upon themselves, led to mutinous proceedings, which it required all the energy of Clive to suppress. At that time double *batta* was abolished, but single *batta* still continued to be paid. Strictly speaking it was due only when the troops were in the field, and hence the original understanding was, that when they were in cantonments and provided with quarters at the public expense, only half *batta* was payable. By a subsequent arrangement in 1801, the expense of providing quarters in cantonments was thrown upon the officers themselves, and to compensate for this additional burden they were allowed full *batta* at all times, whether in the field or in quarters. This arrangement had never been approved by the home authorities, and in 1814 instructions were given to the government of Bengal to return to the original plan of allowing half *batta* only at those stations of the British army which had been established prior to the extension of the Company's territories in that presidency. The Marquis of Hastings was so strenuously opposed to these instructions, that instead of acting upon them he simply returned them to the court for re-consideration, and Lord Amherst had in this respect only followed his example. The time for enforcing them seemed

His order on
the subject
of *batta*

A.D. 1828

now to have arrived, and the orders of the court were so peremptory, that Lord William Bentinck had no alternative but to obey them or resign. He chose the former, and had, it is understood, pledged himself, before leaving England, that the issue of what was afterwards known as the "Half-batta Order," would be one of his first measures of retrenchment.

Question as
to expedi-
ency of
governor-
general's
order re-
garding
batta

The half-batta order was issued on the 9th of November, 1828, under circumstances which must have made the governor-general doubtful of its expediency. Lord Combermere, the commander-in-chief, protested strongly against it, and resigned his office sooner than take any part in its execution. The two civil members of council, Mr Bayley and Sir Charles Metcalfe, only consented because, as the latter expressed it, "The order was one which could not have been disobeyed, unless we could tell the court that we are supreme and they subordinate." So far was he, however, from approving the measure, that he recorded his sentiments on the subject "with a view, if possible, to get the order rescinded." In his minute, after giving it as his confirmed opinion, founded on twenty-eight years' observation, "that the allowances of officers on full batta are barely sufficient for their proper support in their several ranks, and do not admit of any reduction without great suffering," he concluded thus: "Had I conceived that this government possessed any discretionary authority on the subject, the execution of that measure would never have received my assent; for it appears to me, with every deference to the high authorities from which it has proceeded, to be extremely unwise and inexpedient, fraught with mischief, and unproductive of any essential good."

Clamour
raised by the
abolition of
batta

If this was the opinion of the most competent judges, we can easily understand how loud was the clamour and how violent the opposition of those whose incomes were curtailed by this retrenchment. The whole amount of the annual saving fell short of £20,000, and this was only to be obtained by trenching particularly on the incomes of junior officers, whose aggregate allowances were already insufficient for their support, and breaking what was called the compact of 1801, which gave whole batta as a compensation for the quarters which the officers had been obliged to procure at their own expense, and on the faith of which they had actually purchased what were previously public quarters at an open sale, and paid for them with their own money. These and similar representations were submitted to the government, in memorials presented through the commander-in-chief, and transmitted to the directors. The governor-general could only answer that he was acting in obedience to instructions, and that it would afford him sincere gratification to recall the half-batta order, should the court see fit to give him the necessary authority. The court took higher ground, and after denouncing the tone of the memorials as inconsistent with military subordination, closed all further discussion by declaring their determination to enforce the retrenchment. No one was so great a sufferer by it as the governor-general himself, since it subjected him at the very commencement

A.D. 1828

The abolition of batta a polity and judicious saving

Other financial arrangements.

of his administration to a degree of unpopularity, of which he was never able afterwards completely to disencumber himself. The prejudice with which he had thus to struggle was not more unfortunate than it was unjust, since he had only acted ministerially in the matter, and rather in opposition to his own opinion than in accordance with it. This may fairly be inferred from a minute of a later date, in which, adverting to the subject, he says: "Trifling, however, as this deduction is upon the aggregate amount of the pay of the Bengal army, it has been severely felt by the few upon whom it has fallen, and has created in all an alarm of uncertainty as to their future condition, which has perhaps produced more discontent than the measure itself." The opposition made to the half-batta order appears to have made more impression on the directors than they themselves were willing to admit. The only stations to which it was at first made applicable were Dinapoor, Berhampoor, Barrackpore, Dum-Dum, and Ghazipore. A much wider application was doubtless intended, and the fact that it was not carried further is best explained by a change of opinion in the home authorities, who seem, though late, to have been at last convinced that any retrenchment which spread discontent throughout an army must be dearly purchased.

In order to carry out the retrenchments on which the home authorities were intent, for the purpose of reducing the expenditure to the standard of 1823-24, the governor-general shortly after his arrival appointed two committees, a civil and a military, each composed of three members, one from each presidency, to sit at Calcutta, and institute a full inquiry into all the branches of the public service, with a view to suggest such alterations as might secure the utmost degree of unity, efficiency, and economy in the management of affairs. The military committee found the work allotted them already in a great measure performed by the sweeping reductions which had been made both in the number of troops and in the amount of allowances, and by means of which the aggregate military expenditure was diminished to the extent of more than a million sterling. The civil committee entered upon a comparatively new field of labour, and succeeded after several years of assiduous labour in effecting reductions to the amount of nearly half a million. The total aggregate of reductions in both branches was £1,553,991. Part of these, however, were only prospective, as they depended on vacancies which had not yet taken place; and the whole sum, even if it could have been immediately realized, would have fallen short of the necessities of the case, as an Indian surplus of at least two millions was required to defray annual expenses incurred on territorial account in England. It was therefore still necessary, after every possible retrenchment had been made for the purpose of diminishing expenditure, to endeavour to obtain a positive increase of revenue. Some of the means employed with this view deserve notice.

Under native rule, individuals in public establishments often obtained

A D 1828

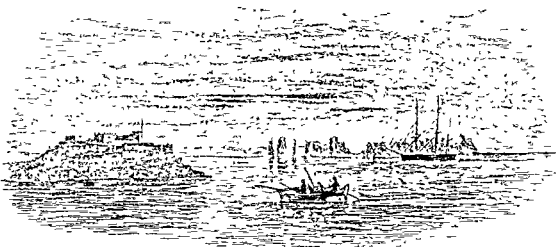
Lands ex-
empted from
government
assessmentInvalid
grounds on
which many
of these
exemptions
were
claimedNew
regulation

grants, exempting their lands or certain portions of them, from government assessment. In most of these grants the exemption was declared to be perpetual, but practically it was not so, as the grants of one sovereign were frequently recalled or arbitrarily disregarded by his successor. This was the case when the Mogul government was in full vigour, and there was no question as to the sufficiency of the authority by which each grant was made. At a later period, when misrule began to prevail and the Mogul empire was dismembered, not only did the chiefs who had previously been contented to hold a delegated authority from Delhi aspire to independence, but advantage was taken of the general confusion to obtain exemptions from government assessment, by the intervention of parties who had no right to grant them, and not unfrequently by the still more exceptionable process of forged documents. In this way the revenue was seriously impaired, and numerous proprietors who claimed and enjoyed the protection of government bore no part of its burdens. The British government, when it first began to levy territorial revenue in India being very much in the dark, and at the same time disposed to act with a liberality bordering on prodigality, laid it down as a general rule, to recognize the validity of all exemptions of an earlier date than the grant of the dewannee, provided the grantees were in actual possession. There cannot be a doubt that, in this way, many grants not supported by any sufficient title were sustained. Nor was this the worst. As soon as the principle of recognition was announced, native dexterity was set to work, and the manufacture of forged documents was carried on by wholesale. Some easy means of testing their genuineness might have been devised, but, as if the government of the day had been afraid to detect the impositions which were practised upon them, they made it as difficult as possible, by requiring that every title of exemption not invalid on the very face of it should give the holder of it the full privilege of exemption till formally set aside by a court of law. The encouragement thus given to the concoction of fictitious titles soon became so apparent, that the collectors were at length empowered to investigate rent-free titles and pronounce upon their validity. If the decision was adverse and confirmed by the board of revenue, the land was forthwith assessed at the usual rate, reserving to the proprietor a right of appeal to the ordinary court. This enactment proved an imperfect remedy, and even caused some injustice. The accumulation of undecided cases in the courts of law led to almost interminable delay, while a percentage allowed to the collectors on every case of resumption converted them into interested parties, and so far deprived them of the character of impartial judges. To remedy these defects a new regulation was made shortly before the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, and afterwards carried into full effect with his concurrence. It empowered the governor-general to appoint special commissioners to decide on all cases of appeal from the decision of the collectors in regard to exemptions, and removed from the collectors themselves the tempta-

tion to partiality, by depriving them of the percentage on resumption. Under this last enactment a considerable addition was made to the public revenue by the assessment of lands which had previously escaped.

Another branch of revenue which at this time attracted much attention, both on political and financial grounds, was that derived from opium. In Bengal the production of this drug was a complete monopoly, no cultivator being permitted to raise it except on account of government, which made advances in anticipation of the crop, and received the whole produce at a certain fixed rate per lb. From the great difference between the price thus paid and that afterwards obtained at the government sales, a large amount of revenue was obtained. During the anarchy which prevailed in Central India before the predatory system was put down by the Marquis of Hastings, the Bengal monopoly was not subjected to any formidable competition from native states; but when, in

A.D. 1828.

Revenue
from opium

FORT AND HARBOUR OF KURRACHEE.—From Kennedy's Narrative of Campaign on the Indus

consequence of the restoration of tranquillity, it became practicable not only to cultivate the poppy successfully throughout Malwah for home consumption, but to realize a large profit by sending the surplus across Rajpootana to the port of Kurrachee in Scinde, and thence to the Portuguese settlements of Diu and Damaun for final shipment to China, the opium profits of the Company were seriously diminished, and various schemes were devised for the purpose of recovering them. The prohibition of the culture in all districts except those where the Company's monopoly was established, was at once seen to be the most effectual remedy; but the enforcement of such a prohibition was impossible, or, if not impossible, would have been a flagrant violation of the independent rights of native states. It was therefore mentioned only to be rejected; and the plan first adopted was to endeavour to secure a virtual monopoly of export by entering the opium market as purchasers, and buying so largely as to leave no more in the hands of native cultivators and dealers than was necessary for home con-

Modes of
levying it

A D 1823

Objections
to mode of
levying
revenue
from opium

sumption. The absurdity of this arrangement, which might easily have been foreseen, was soon made apparent. Its only effect was to raise the price and thereby at once increase the demand and enlarge the area of cultivation. The cure thus proved worse than the evil which it was meant to remedy, and the native exporters, still obtaining a full supply, were able to carry on the traffic as extensively and as profitably as before. The next device was to give the rulers of native states an interest in the repression of the opium traffic. With this view the Company succeeded in binding most of them by treaty to restrict the culture of the poppy, and prohibit the transit of opium through their territories, in consideration of an annual sum to be paid to them as an equivalent for the estimated loss of revenue. These treaties, by their gross interference with the rights of industry, were unpopular in the extreme, and not only exhibited the British government in the odious light of adding to its revenue by means of tyrannical restrictions imposed on cultivators who were not its subjects, but fostered heart-burnings, and led to riots, by which the public tranquillity was disturbed, the opium smugglers often moving about in armed bands, and effectually resisting the attempts made to capture them. These opium treaties, while they thus proved a fruitful source of disturbance, and made British supremacy detested, failed to accomplish the object contemplated by them. Though Holkar, and most of the petty chiefs of Malwah, tempted by the annual equivalent, or afraid to give offence to the Company, concluded treaties, Scindia and the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Joudpoor positively refused, and thus large tracts of country remained, in which the poppy was freely cultivated, and across which the opium dealers could carry on their traffic without interruption. The utter inefficacy of the restrictions was palpable from the fact, that the export of opium from Damaun, which in 1820-21 did not exceed 600 chests, amounted in 1827-28 to 4000.

Final ar-
rangement

It was impossible that treaties thus at once tyrannical and inoperative could be maintained. Lord Amherst had seen the necessity of rescinding them, and Mr. Bayley, during his short tenure of the government, had instituted inquiries with a view to their abandonment. To this there was no obstacle, as the treaties contained a clause which made it optional for the British authorities to abandon the restrictions at any future period, and hence all that remained for Lord William Bentinck after his arrival was to give effect to this option. The great difficulty was to provide against the anticipated defalcation of revenue, and the degree of perplexity which it occasioned may be inferred from a serious proposal to return to the old abortive plan of buying up the surplus produce. A far wiser plan, suggested apparently by Sir John Malcolm when governor of Bombay, was, after some hesitation, finally adopted by the governor-general in council, in July, 1830. The transit of Malwah opium to Kurrachee through a country, great part of which is absolutely a desert, was at once circuitous and expensive, whereas the transit to Bombay was short and easy. Founding on

this difference, the new plan simply was to leave the culture of the poppy in Malwah free from all restrictions except those which the native princes might be pleased to impose for their own benefit, and allow the opium to be transmitted for sale or export to Bombay, subject only to a payment per chest calculated not to exceed the additional expense which must have been incurred before it could have been conveyed to Kurrachee, and finally shipped at Damaun. This plan, which, if such a traffic is to be carried on at all, is the least objectionable that could be devised, is still in force. The revenue obtained from opium passes in 1830-31 was only £16,642. The following year it rose to £125,230, and it has since continued to increase till it borders on £500,000 sterling. This of course, being only the revenue derived from opium passes to Bombay, is but a fraction of that which the whole opium traffic, including that of Calcutta, yields to the British government in India.

A D 1838
Revenue
from opium.

The judicial reforms which took place during Lord William Bentinck's administration were chiefly characterized by an extended employment of native agency. The almost total exclusion of this agency by Marquis Cornwallis during his first administration had long been regarded as one of its greatest blemishes, and succeeding administrations had so far remedied the evil that in 1827, nineteen-twentieths of the original suits in the civil courts were decided by native judges. The object now was, not so much to increase the number of these judges, as to enlarge their jurisdiction, and improve their position by augmenting their salaries, so as to add to their respectability and afford some guarantee for their integrity. It was the good fortune of Lord William Bentinck to carry out these important improvements; but they did not originate with him, and the merit of them must at least be shared by him, both with distinguished servants of the Company in India, who had recognized their necessity, and with the home authorities, who had not only sanctioned them, but sent out instructions in conformity to which the most important regulation on the subject afterwards was drawn up and promulgated. In another arrangement he incurred more responsibility, and is entitled to a greater degree of personal credit.

Judicial re-
forms.

The court of directors had long been anxious for the abolition of Suttee, and in 1824 had declared their conviction "of the practicability of abolishing the practice, or at least, of the safety with which it might be prohibited." Opinion, however, continued to be greatly divided on the subject, and the utmost length to which the highest Indian authorities were disposed to go was to make some experiments in the conquered and ceded provinces, where the practice was comparatively rare, and in the meantime leave it untouched in Bengal, where it annually counted its victims by hundreds. Lord Amherst, while declaring that "nothing but apprehension of evils infinitely greater than those arising from the existence of the practice should induce us to tolerate it for a single day," could only "recommend our trusting to the progress now making in the diffusion of knowledge

Abolition of
Suttee

A D 1829

Abolition of
SutteeFalse alarm
on the
subject

among the natives, for the gradual suppression of this detestable superstition." From adhering to these views Lord Amherst lost the honour which now belongs to his successor, of having put down a crying abomination, regardless of all the alarm and clamour which were employed to deter him from listening to the voice of humanity. From what has already been said on the subject of Suttee in a previous part of the work, it is necessary only to add that, by the regulation passed by the governor-general in council, on the 4th of December, 1829, it was expressly declared that, "after the promulgation of this regulation, all persons convicted of aiding and abetting in the sacrifice of a Hindoo widow, by burning or burying her alive, whether the sacrifice be voluntary on her part or not, shall be deemed guilty of culpable homicide, and shall be liable to punishment by fine or imprisonment, or by both fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court of circuit, according to the nature and circumstances of the case, and the degree of guilt established against the offender; nor shall it be held to be any plea in justification that he or she was desired by the party sacrificed to assist in putting her to death." Though none of the threatened evils followed the promulgation of this enactment, it ought not to be forgotten that, all things considered, it was and ought to be revered as an act of great moral courage. Sir Charles Metcalfe, then a member of the Calcutta council, while cordially approving of the proposed regulation, deemed it necessary to add, "I do so, not without apprehension that the measure may possibly be used by the disaffected, influential, and designing of our subjects, to inflame the passions of the multitude, and produce a religious excitement, the consequences of which, if once set in action, cannot be foreseen." While the supporters of the regulation were thus apprehensive, it is easy to understand how gloomy the forebodings of its opponents must have been. It is only when all these things are duly considered that full justice will be done to Lord William Bentinck for the combined courage and wisdom displayed in the abolition of Suttee. The prediction of opposition on the part of the Hindoos did not prove altogether groundless, though it fortunately assumed a constitutional form. Petitions to the governor-general were presented against the regulation, and when these proved unavailing, the petitioners carried their complaint by appeal before the privy council. Here the singular spectacle was presented of Hindoo natives appearing as appellants, in support of an abominable superstition, while the court of directors appeared as respondents. After a full discussion, the privy council set the question as to the legality of the abolition of Suttee at rest by dismissing the appeal. Some degree of excitement was inevitable, but it never amounted to popular agitation, and ere long died away. Humanity thus gained a decided victory over blind superstition, and a lesson was furnished which, if succeeding Indian administrations had duly profited by it, would have been followed by many similar triumphs.

The credit of another measure, which, in some respects, was more important

even than the abolition of Sutte, and which, though it trenched more directly on native superstitions, attracted comparatively little notice, belongs still more unequivocally to Lord William Bentinck's administration. By regulations promulgated in 1793 and 1803, it was provided that all questions of succession to property should be decided in conformity to the religion of the parties. The obvious intention was to give Mahometans and Hindoos the benefit of their respective codes, and nothing could be more equitable. Unfortunately the regulations were loosely and obscurely worded, and a case which was daily acquiring new importance was entirely overlooked. The efforts of Christian missionaries were beginning to bear fruit, but no provision had been made for the social position of their converts. As the regulations stood, there was ground for maintaining that by the mere fact of their conversion, they forfeited the rights of succession which would undoubtedly have belonged to them if they had continued Hindoos. This result, which had never been contemplated, and was, moreover, in itself absolutely intolerable, was remedied by a new regulation, which provided that the rules relating to succession, as affected by religion, should bind those only who were *bona fide* professors of Mahometanism or Hindooism at the time when the succession opened. The effect was to free Hindoo converts to Christianity from all the trammels of their former superstition, and secure them in the full possession of Christian freedom. In the account formerly given of the measures for the suppression of Thuggee and Dacoitee, it was mentioned that in the course of six years about 2000 Thugs were arrested. These were years in which the government was administered by Lord William Bentinck, and to him, therefore, much of the credit due for the extirpation of these murderous hordes belongs. His efforts on the subject of education are also deserving of honourable notice, though, from a mistaken idea that the natives might be educated through the medium of English alone, he unfortunately reserved his patronage mainly for it, and thus did unintentional injustice not merely to the native literary classes, but to the great bulk of the population. As one of the great events, not so much of his administration as of the period to which it belongs, may be mentioned the successful application of steam to the voyage between Europe and India, and the subsequent establishment of the regular route by Egypt. The first trial was made by a vessel called the *Enterprize*, which endeavoured to combine the advantages of steam and sails, and made the voyage by the Cape of Good Hope. The experiment was not satisfactory, as she sailed from Falmouth on the 16th of August, 1825, and did not reach Diamond harbour, in the Hooghly, till the 7th of December, an interval of nearly four months. A route by the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf was then attempted, but it was soon ascertained that the ancient line across the Isthmus of Suez from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea was entitled to the preference. The first steam voyage by this route was made by the *Hugh Lindsay*, which left Bombay on the 20th of March, 1830, and arrived at Suez on the 22d of

A.D. 1829

Unfavourable position of Christian converts from Hinduism

New regulation securing their rights.

Steam communication with India by the Mediterranean and Red Sea

A D 1829

April, an interval of thirty-two days. In her next voyage she reduced the period to twenty-two days. In 1836 the government of Bombay congratulated the court of directors on the arrival of despatches from London in sixty-four days. Since then the distance has been performed in less than half that time.

The Bombay
code of law

The improvements introduced into the different branches of the public service in Bengal had been adopted or imitated at the other presidencies. In some respects, indeed, Bombay, placed under the excellent code of 1827, of which the chief merit is due to the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, had taken the lead in improvement. It was therefore learned with no less sorrow than surprise that, under the enlightened government of Sir John Malcolm, a determined attempt had been made, not to advance, but to retrograde. The blame, however, lay neither with him nor his council, but with the judges of the supreme court, who, entertaining extravagant views of their jurisdiction, endeavoured to stretch it in a manner similar to that of which the supreme court of Calcutta furnished an example in the days of Sir Elijah Impey. At Bombay the English law had long been administered to British subjects by a single judge designated recorder. He does not seem to have been overworked or to have performed the duties of his office inefficiently; but as the supreme courts at Calcutta and Madras had each three judges, it was thought, for the sake of uniformity, if not for any better reason, that Bombay was entitled to an equal number, and accordingly, in 1823, the court of recorder was abolished, in order to make way for a supreme court, composed of a chief-justice and two puisne justices. The jurisdiction conferred on this supreme court was exactly the same as that of the other two supreme courts, and was expressly restricted to British subjects resident at Bombay or in its provinces, or to natives who either were, at the time when the cause of action originated, in the service of the Company, or had agreed in writing, that in the event of dispute the supreme court should be competent to decide. Since the famous dispute in the time of Warren Hastings, when Sir Elijah Impey and his compeers at Calcutta endeavoured to extend their jurisdiction over all zemindars, by holding that their collection of public revenue made them servants of the Company, questions of jurisdiction had seldom been mooted, or at least persisted in so as to cause serious inconvenience. It was otherwise at Bombay. Sir Edward West, formerly recorder, having been made chief-justice, early manifested a determination to make the most of his new dignity, and with the concurrence of his colleagues, who appear unfortunately to have been animated by the same spirit, advanced claims to jurisdiction which the governor and council deemed it necessary to resist. While admitting the limitation of jurisdiction over natives prescribed by the charter, they managed to discover what one of them called an "other principle of a wider and more extensive influence." This was a clause in the charter which declared that the judges were "to have such jurisdiction and authority as our justices of our Court of King's Bench have, and may

Important
question of
jurisdiction

lawfully exercise, within that part of Great Britain called England, as far as circumstances will admit;" and which they interpreted to mean that they were bound to watch over and protect the personal liberty of all the king's subjects, without distinction of native or British, and without reference to territorial limitation. Cases by which to test the validity of this interpretation soon occurred, and the result was a most unseemly collision between the court and the government.

A D 1829.

The Bombay presidency

Moro Ragonath, a young Mahratta of distinction, had been left by his parents under the guardianship of Pandurang Ramchunder, his grand-uncle, who resided at Poonah, and was related to Bajee Row, the ex-Peishwa. Young as he was, he was married, and the relations of his wife being desirous for purposes of their own to obtain possession of his person, presented a petition to the supreme court at Bombay, setting forth that he was kept in confinement to the danger of his life, and praying for a writ of *habeas corpus*. The judges on the Bombay bench at this time were Sir Edward West, formerly recorder, but now chief-justice, Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, and Sir John Peter Grant. They at once found themselves competent to grant the prayer of the petition, and issued their writ accordingly for bringing up Moro Ragonath from Poonah to Bombay. In the course of the proceedings an extraordinary mortality occurred among the judges. Sir Edward West died on the 18th of August, 1828, and Sir Charles Harcourt on the 13th of October following. Sir John Peter Grant thus occupied the bench alone, and as he was the last judge who had taken his seat upon it, he might easily have pleaded the novelty and solitariness of his position as an excuse for not running headlong into collision with the government. All prudential considerations appear however to have been lost upon him, and so far from complying with a request of the governor in council to delay in the meantime from taking any further steps in the business, he denounced this request as a gross interference with the course of justice, and even made it the main ground of a petition to the king, praying him "to give such commands concerning the same, as to your majesty's royal wisdom shall seem meet, for the due vindication and protection of the dignity and lawful authority of your majesty's supreme court of judicature at Bombay."

Collision between the government and the supreme court.

The government had previously resisted the execution of the writ of *habeas corpus* at Poonah, on the ground that neither the grand-uncle nor the nephew was amenable to the supreme court at Bombay, and they had subsequently, on the 3d of October, 1828, addressed a letter to the two then surviving judges, in which, after justifying this extraordinary step by the necessity of the case, and intimating their determination not to allow any returns to be made "to any writs of *habeas corpus* of a similar nature to those recently issued, and directed to any officers of the provincial courts," they concluded thus: "The grounds upon which we act have exclusive reference to considerations of civil government and of state policy; but as our resolution cannot be altered until we

Question of *habeas corpus*.

A D 1829.

Question as
to writ of
*habeas cor-
pus* between
government
and supreme
court of
Bombay

receive the commands of those high authorities to which we are subject, we inform you of them, and we do most anxiously hope that the considerations we have before stated may lead you to limit yourselves to those protests and appeals against our conduct in the cases specified that you may consider it your duty to make, as any other conduct must, for reasons already stated, prove deeply injurious to the public interests, and can, under the resolution taken and avowed by government, produce no result favourable either to the immediate or future establishment of the extended jurisdiction you have claimed. A very short period will elapse before an answer is received to the full and urgent reference we have made upon this subject; and we must again express our hope, that even the obligations under which we are sensible you act, are not so imperative as to impel you to proceedings which the government has thus explicitly stated its resolution to oppose."

This letter, so far from effecting its object, appears only to have exasperated Sir John Peter Grant, who having now, by the demise of his colleagues, been left to the guidance of no better judgment than his own, took the very extraordinary step of closing the court, on the ground that it was useless to keep it open while he was prevented from enforcing his decisions. The governor in council immediately issued a proclamation declaring his determination to protect the persons and property of the inhabitants of Bombay, and calling upon all classes to assist in alleviating the evils which the closing of the court could not fail to produce. The judge seems now to have shrunk from the consequences of his own rashness, and submitted to the humiliation of again opening the court, after he had kept it closed from the 21st of April to the 17th of June, 1829. Some attempt was made to obtain the interference of the supreme government, but as the point in dispute had been brought under the notice of the privy council by Sir John Peter Grant's petition, it was deemed advisable in the meantime to let this appeal take its course. On the 14th of May, 1829, the points were argued before the privy council, and on the 10th of June, the lords reported their opinion to his majesty in the following terms: "That the writs of *habeas corpus* were improperly issued in the two cases referred to in the said petition. That the supreme court has no power or authority to issue a writ of *habeas corpus*, except when directed either to a person resident within those local limits wherein such a court has a general jurisdiction, or to a person out of such local limits, who is personally subject to the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the supreme court. That the supreme court has no power or authority to issue a writ of *habeas corpus* to the jailer or officer of a native court as such officer, the supreme court having no power to discharge persons imprisoned under the authority of a native court. That the supreme court is bound to notice the jurisdiction of the native court, without having the same specially set forth in the return to a writ of *habeas corpus*." It was thus authoritatively and finally determined that the supreme court of Bombay had entirely mistaken

Appeal to
the privy
council

the limits of their jurisdiction, and with equal rashness and ignorance endeavoured to substitute mere tyranny for law.

A D 1831.

Disturbances in various quarters.

Though the general peace of India remained unbroken during Lord William Bentinck's administration, disturbances more or less threatening took place in various localities. Calcutta itself was alarmed by a tumult in its immediate vicinity. It originated with some professed followers of a fanatical Mahometan of the name of Syed Ahmed, who from being a trooper in the service of Ameer Khan, assumed the character of a religious reformer, and declared his determination to purify Islamism from all the corruptions which had been engrafted upon it by the Shiites or followers of Ali. Though himself illiterate, he managed to gain learned adherents, and soon mustered so strong in the Punjab as to become formidable to the Sikhs. Having added to his reputed sanctity by a pilgrimage to Mecca, and returned by way of Calcutta to the Upper provinces, he reappeared in the Punjab in 1826, and proclaimed a holy war. Numbers flocked to him from Delhi, Lucknow, and the other principal seats of Mahometanism in India, and he was able to take the field at the head of nearly 40,000 men. For a time enthusiasm supplied the want of discipline, but Runjeet Sing with his Sikhs ultimately prevailed, and the contest in the Punjab was terminated by the defeat and death of Syed Ahmed in 1831. His sect however had taken deep root, and having lost none of its fanaticism, had rendered itself extremely obnoxious both to Mahometans and Hindoos by violent opposition to various practices which it stigmatized as impure. Recrimination necessarily was pro-

Violent proceedings of a fanatical sect near Calcutta

voked, and fierce quarrels, sometimes attended with bloodshed, ensued. One of these not undeserving of notice took place at Baraset, about fifteen miles north-east of Calcutta. A considerable body of the sect had here established themselves, and fallen into deadly feud with the rest of the inhabitants. As both parties were ready for an open rupture, an occasion soon occurred. In some petty quarrel the zemindars had taken part against the followers of Syed Ahmed, and were in consequence charged before the magistrate with partiality. Either thinking that justice was denied them, or being too impatient to wait for it, they took the remedy into their own hand, and in 1831, placing themselves under the leadership of a fakir of the name of Titoo Miya, they issued forth, and commenced a religious war against Hindooism. Having polluted a temple by besprinkling it with the blood of a cow which they had killed, and then destroyed the temple, they forthwith proceeded to what were considered still greater enormities, by maltreating Brahmins and forcing them to swallow beef. Thus once committed they set no limits to their audacity, pillaging and burning down villages, and putting to death without mercy all persons who resisted, or were in any way obnoxious to them. The civil power having in vain endeavoured to restore tranquillity, two native regiments and a party of horse marched against them, and came up with them in an open plain near Hooghly. Here they had constructed a stockade, behind which, after being

A D 1829

Excesses
of Syed
Ahmed's
followers
suppressed.

driven from the field, they retired, and defended themselves with desperate courage, till about 100 of them were killed, and 250 taken prisoners. The rest dispersed, and though they made several attempts to rally, were too much intimidated to hazard a new conflict. They still however count numerous followers among the more educated Mahometans of India, and having lost none of their original fanaticism, are as ready as ever, should a favourable opportunity occur, to propagate their tenets by the sword.

Disturb
ances in
Assam

Along the eastern frontier in Assam, and the provinces recently wrested from the Burmese, serious disturbances occurred. A body of mountaineers of the name of Singphos, having crossed the mountains on the north-east, entered Assam in the beginning of 1830 to the number of nearly 3000, and before they could be checked committed great depredations. Their main objects seemed to be to carry off the Assamese as slaves and enrich themselves with



ASSAMESE GOSSAINS OR LANDHOLDERS
From a drawing by W. Prinscy, Esq

Disturb
ances in the
Kasya Hills

plunder. When once encountered they were incapable of offering much resistance, as they were mere hordes of savages, rudely armed, and totally undisciplined. Their presence, however, gave encouragement to other disaffected tribes, and an attempt was made to surprise the British station at Rungpoor. It did not succeed; but the frequent repetition of incursions at last induced government to attempt a more effectual remedy, by reinstating an ex-rajah in part of his sovereignty, on condition of keeping down disturbance, and paying a certain amount of tribute. Still further to the south, among the Kasya Hills, an insurrection accompanied with circumstances of great atrocity broke out. Nungklow, situated about half-way between Sylhet and Assam, had been obtained by the Company by amicable arrangement from Tirat Sing, who was supposed to be the chief of the Kasyas, for the purpose of converting it into a sanatory station, for which it seemed well adapted by its climate and its elevation of 5000 feet above the level of the sea. With this view, and also to open up a communication between Sylhet and Assam, a series of roads across the hills had been commenced. These proceedings gave great offence to the mountaineers. They feared for their independence, and they complained that Tirat Sing, who was only one of a number of chiefs, had disposed of part of the common territory without consulting the others. It was therefore determined to recover by force the district which had thus been improperly alienated, and in April, 1829, a large body of Kasyas, headed by Tirat Sing and other chiefs,

suddenly made their appearance before Nungklow. Lieutenant Bedingfield, who, with Lieutenant Burlton, Mr. Bowman, and four sepoy, were the only persons resident in the Company's service, having been invited to a conference, set out without suspicion, but the moment he arrived was barbarously murdered. The rest of his party, after gallantly defending themselves in the house which they occupied, shared his fate, with the exception of one sepoy who escaped. A desultory warfare ensued, and lasted with little interruption to the end of 1832, when the chiefs made their submission, and Tirat Sing was sent off as a state prisoner to Dacca. In Jyntea and Kachar several attempts by the native chiefs to throw off the British yoke only had the effect of riveting it more firmly. In the Tenasserim provinces some of the ousted Burmese governors, tempted by the smallness of the British force left for their protection, entered into a conspiracy to seize the towns of Tavoy and Mergui. At first it was successful. At Tavoy, Mung-da the former Burmese governor appeared at the head of 500 men, and compelling the small party of Madras infantry to whom it had been intrusted to retreat to the wharf, gained possession of the town. At Mergui, possession was gained still more easily, the British officer in charge of about 50 sepoy retiring without risking an encounter. These successes of the insurgents were short-lived, and they only waited the arrival of British reinforcements to resign the contest and make their submission. Tranquillity, however, was still doubtful, as it was well known that the ex-governor of Martaban was at the bottom of the conspiracy, and watching an opportunity to renew it. Fortunately his proceedings had rendered him obnoxious to the Burmese government, and he was murdered in the midst of his plots by order of the viceroy of Rangoon.

A D 1829.

Disturbances in the Kassy Hills and the Tenasserim provinces

Insurrection of the Koles.

These insurrections were doubtless encouraged by the extent to which government, in its anxiety to meet the wishes of the directors on the subject of retrenchment, had carried the reduction of its military establishments. The same cause, of course, operated in various quarters, and produced its bitter fruits in other districts than those which had been recently conquered. Towards the end of 1829 the agricultural Koles inhabiting the district of Sumbulpoor, through which the Mahanuddy flows, being dissatisfied with the conduct of their ranee or queen, who had rendered herself obnoxious by dismissing all the relatives of her late husband from their offices and conferring them on her own immediate kindred, rose in rebellion, and were with difficulty prevented from marching on the capital. Peace was only restored by the interference of the British agent, and the deposition of the ranee, who had shown herself devoid of the prudence and vigour necessary for the government of her barbarous subjects. No sooner was this rebellion quelled than disturbances of a more formidable character broke out among a number of petty tributaries of the Company, occupying the wild tract situated between the sources of the Ner-budda on the west, and the Bengal districts of Burdwan and Midnapoor on the

A D 1829

Disturbances in
Chota Nag-
poor

east, and usually included under the general designation of Chota Nagpoor. Its aboriginal inhabitants consisted chiefly of wild tribes of Koles and Dangas, who lived like savages, and subsisted in great measure on the chase; but in the lower plains, and the districts directly under British authority, agriculture was generally practised both by the native inhabitants and a large number of new settlers, who had been induced by the zemindars to come from Bengal and Behar. These new settlers were not unnaturally regarded with jealousy by the aborigines, many of whom had been dispossessed of their lands to make way for them. The more regular form of government established by the Company was also very obnoxious to the chiefs, who found their wild freedom of action restrained by it, and thus, both chiefs and people having causes of discontent, an almost universal rising suddenly took place. Its fury was at first directed against the emigrants. Their fields were laid waste, their villages burned, and nearly a thousand of them were barbarously murdered. The interference of the British was tardier than it ought to have been, and the insurgents had mustered in thousands before any decided attempt was made to check them. This was the more to be lamented, as the feeble resistance which they afterwards made proved how easily they might have been put down at first by more rapid and energetic movements. Owing to the want of these, similar risings took place in various adjacent districts, and were not suppressed without serious bloodshed.

Disturbances in
Mysore

The presidency of Madras had also its full share of disturbance. The establishment of the ancient kingdom of Mysore by the Marquis of Wellesley had been regarded as a measure of very questionable policy, but the evils apprehended were not realized so long as the administration was conducted by Purnea, under whom the country attained a high degree of prosperity. On his retirement in 1811 a sudden change took place. The rajah, determined to be his own master, conferred the office of dewan on Linga Raj, one of his own creatures, who possessed neither talents nor influence; alienated large portions of his revenue to Brahmins, who took advantage of his superstitious veneration for them; and squandered the hoards which Purnea had accumulated, by lavishing them on unworthy favourites. Financial embarrassments necessarily followed, and the people, who had formerly been contented and happy, began to groan under the burden of immoderate exactions. To prevent the foreseen consequences of such a system, the Madras government repeatedly remonstrated with the rajah, and in 1825 Sir Thomas Monro made a visit to Mysore, for the purpose of enforcing the necessary measures of reform. He received abundance of promises, but as soon as he departed, all idea of performance was abandoned, and misgovernment in many of its worst forms began to produce its usual results. The collectors persisting in their exactions were resisted, and not unfrequently murdered by the ryots, and an insurrectionary spirit was excited, which, while the rajah looked on helplessly, threatened to carry disturbance

into the territories of the Company. The insurrection first assumed a distinct and organized form in the district of Bednore, where Ram Row, one of the rajah's favourites, had been guilty of intolerable oppression. In 1830 a general rising took place, and after various attempts at accommodation, an appeal to arms became necessary. A considerable body of Mysore troops were marched into the insurgent district, and followed by three regiments of Madras infantry, with two companies of his Majesty's 62d, and a squadron of native cavalry. On a proclamation promising a redress of grievances, the ryots seemed disposed to return to their homes, but a new element of rebellion had been added by the appearance of a rival rajah, who, though a mere impostor, pretended to be a lineal descendant of the former Rajahs of Bednore, and had at an earlier period been for a short time in actual possession of it. Thus encouraged, the insurrection had become so formidable that Colonel Evans, who commanded the troops sent to suppress it and was advancing to Bednore, sustained a check which obliged him to fall back on Sheemoga. A second advance was more successful, and by the remission of large arrears of revenue and other necessary concessions, tranquillity was at length restored. The extent of the danger, however, rendered it necessary to take precautions for the future; and under a clause in the treaty of 1799, which empowered the Company on certain emergencies to assume the government, the rajah, deprived of all political power, was converted into a mere pensioner, and the administration, little changed in external form, was placed under the control of a British commissioner and four assistants.

A D. 1830.

The Rajah
of Mysore
converted
into a mere
pensioner

Another revolution of a still more decided character was effected about the same time in Coorg. The actual rajah, Vira Rajendra, was a very degenerate descendant of the former rajah, whose heroic defence of his independence when it was assailed by Hyder and Tippoo has already been recorded. Unlike him in every respect, Vira Rajendra was a mere barbarian, ever and anon giving way to impulses of fury, during which he set no limits to his cruelty. Often without an apparent offence, the officers of his army and the inmates of his palace were ordered off to execution. His own kindred were not spared, and out of one pit in the jungle at a later period, when his atrocities were inquired into, the bodies of seventeen of his victims were disinterred, including among them those of his own aunt, the child of his sister, and the brother of her husband. This monstrous cruelty was of course accompanied by other abominable passions, and his sister Dewah Amajee with difficulty escaped from his brutality by taking refuge with her husband within the British territory. Previous to this the rajah had manifested a decided hostility to the Company, and was augmenting the number of his troops, apparently with the intention of resisting any interference with his proceedings. On the escape of his sister and her husband he threw off all appearance of restraint, and positively refused to listen to any proposals for an amicable adjustment of the misunderstandings

Disturb-
ances in
Coorg

A D 1834

The Rajah
of Coorg dis-
posed and
his territory
annexed

produced by his misconduct, unless the fugitives were sent back in order that he might wreak his vengeance on them. As this barbarous demand could not be complied with, it at once brought matters to a crisis, and a proclamation was issued in April, 1834, declaring that "the conduct of the rajah had rendered him unworthy of the friendship and protection of the British government; that he had been guilty of oppression and cruelty towards his subjects; and had assumed an attitude of defiance and hostility towards the British government; received and encouraged its proclaimed enemies; addressed letters to the government of Fort St. George and to the governor-general, replete with the most insulting expressions; and had placed under restraint an old and faithful servant of the Company, who had been deputed by the commissioner of Mysore to open a friendly negotiation: for which offences Vira Rajendra was no longer to be considered Rajah of Coorg. An army was about to march against him which would respect the persons and property of all who were peaceably disposed; and such a system of government would be established as might seem best calculated to secure the happiness of the people." Had the rajah, instead of being the most detested, been the most popular of princes, it would have been impossible for him to offer any effectual resistance. The British troops under Colonel Lindsay entered Coorg in separate divisions from the east, north, and west. The obstacles presented by the nature of the country were more formidable than the weapons of the enemy, and in more than one instance, where due advantage was taken of them, the invaders not only were unable to advance, but obliged to retreat. This was the case particularly with the divisions approaching from the north and west. Those from the east made better progress, and on the 6th of April Colonel Lindsay took possession of Mercara, the capital. Four days later the rajah surrendered unconditionally, and after a short detention in his palace, received far better terms than he deserved, by his removal to Benares in the possession of an ample pension. In establishing the future government, the heads of villages were assembled at Mercara and desired to give free utterance to their wishes. There could not have been any sincerity in this proceeding, since the annexation of Coorg to the British territories had been previously determined. The formal assent of the village chiefs to this determination was easily obtained, and Coorg has ever since formed an integral portion of the presidency of Madras.

Relations
with allied
states

In dealing with the allied states, the administration of Lord William Bentinck does not appear to advantage. The home authorities, even after they had seen the necessity of interference, and experienced its efficacy in maintaining tranquillity, were constantly haunted by imaginary fears of the entanglements in which it might involve them, and issued a series of instructions directing that the residents and political agents in the different states should leave the native sovereigns uncontrolled in their internal management, and not interfere unless when it might become necessary to secure the tribute which

A D 1833.

Rammohun
Roy's mis-
sion to
England

rather difficult to account for Rammohun Roy's acceptance of the office. He was in no want of the salary attached to it, and was too shrewd not to have perceived that, independent of every other obstacle, the very manner in which the mission had been conferred upon him must render it abortive. It was a



RAMMOHUN ROY — From an anonymous print

secret appointment, of which the government in India had been kept in studied ignorance; and hence on his arrival in England in 1831, he no sooner presented his credentials, than they were declared insufficient to justify any recognition of him as the King of Delhi's agent. Personally his reception was of the most flattering description, and full homage was paid to his talents and character. Much was expected from the enlarged views which he had acquired in this country, but he was not destined to return to India, an attack of fever having carried him off at Bristol in September, 1833. The King of Delhi, besides the

expenditure which he incurred by sending an agent to England on a fruitless errand, was made to feel that so far from advancing his interest by the step he had taken, he had been guilty of irregularity, and given umbrage in high quarters, for Lord William Bentinck, in making a tour through Delhi to the Upper provinces, made the king aware of his displeasure by declining the usual interchange of complimentary visits. Delhi itself was shortly afterwards the scene of an atrocious crime. The Nabob of Ferozepoor, Ahmed Baksh Khan, at his death left the succession to his eldest son Shams-ud-din Khan, but set apart the district of Loharoo for two younger sons, and gave them the independent administration of it. Shams-ud-din objected to this curtailment of his hereditary territory, and as the district seemed to be mismanaged, the governor-general in council so far forgot his policy of non-interference as to decide that Loharoo should remain with the new nabob, on condition of his providing his brothers in a pension equal to its estimated revenue. Mr. Fraser, the British commissioner at Delhi, disapproved of this arrangement, and succeeded in obtaining a postponement of it. Shams-ud-din was indignant, and considering Mr. Fraser as the only obstacle in his way, hired an assassin, who shot him as he was returning from Delhi to his residence. The assassin and the nabob having been seized, were brought to trial, and as the guilt of both was fully established, no distinction was made in the punishment, and Shams-ud-din was hanged as a common malefactor. That they suffered deservedly there cannot be a doubt, and yet so strong was the disaffection to British rule already existing in Delhi, that they were venerated by the Mahometan population as if they had been martyrs.

Murder of
the British
commissioner at
Delhi

In Oude the complaints of misgovernment were as loud as ever. In the time of the last nabob, Ghazee-ud-din Hyder, the favourite minister was Aga Mir, but in proportion to the influence which he possessed over the nabob, was the hatred borne him by the heir apparent. A deadly feud had thus arisen, and the nabob, foreseeing the ruin which could hardly fail to overtake Aga Mir in the event of his own death, endeavoured to provide against it, not only by effecting an apparent reconciliation between his son and his minister, but also by inducing the British government to guarantee the latter in his person and property. The matter was accomplished more easily than might have been supposed. By the opportune offer of a loan of a million sterling to the Company in perpetuity, at five per cent. interest, at a time of great financial embarrassment, the nabob obtained the desired guarantee, and at the same time arranged that the interest should be paid to his dependants, among whom Aga Mir, as holding the foremost place, was regularly to draw one half of the whole, or £25,000 per annum.

A D 1830.

Relations
with Oude.

On the death of Ghazee-ud-din, his successor, Nasir-ud-din, seemed entirely to have forgotten his former enmity to Aga Mir, and besides continuing him in his office, treated him with kindness and liberality. It soon appeared, however, that his hatred had lost none of its virulence. He had merely been feeling his way, and preparing to shape his course according to what he should learn of the intentions of the British government. He was well aware of the guarantee, and not unnaturally inferred, that in consequence of it, he would not be allowed to take a single step to the prejudice of Aga Mir. On learning that the policy of non-interference had once more been inaugurated, and that he might calculate on being permitted to follow his own inclinations, he at once threw off the mask, and not contented with dismissing Aga Mir and demanding his accounts, threatened to make his property responsible for alleged frauds committed on the treasury. The ex-minister immediately fell back on his guarantee, and appealed to the British government for protection. It could not in decency be refused, and it was therefore intimated to the king that Aga Mir, having enjoyed the full confidence of his late master, was entitled to immunity for whatever he had done with his sanction, and was accountable only for his proceedings since the commencement of the new reign. This decision fell far short of the wishes of Nasir-ud-din, whose vindictive purposes it in a great measure frustrated; but after long discussion and loud complaints of the impolicy and injustice of allowing a great criminal to escape, he had the mortification to see Aga Mir placed beyond his reach, by being conducted in October, 1830, under charge of a British military escort, to Cawnpore.

Succession
of Nasir-
ud din to
throne of
Oude

On the dismissal of Aga Mir, the king declared his determination to be his own minister. For this he was totally unfit by his ignorance of business and his dissolute habits, and the whole power of the state was monopolized by men whose elevation was mainly owing to their worthlessness. So notorious

A D. 1831

Hakim
Mehdi suc-
ceeds Aga
Mir as min-
ister in
Oude

indeed was their incompetency, that the resident was instructed not to recognize them, and to decline all intercourse of a friendly nature till a respectable minister was appointed. This step, though rather a curious exemplification of non-interference, was undoubtedly justified by the circumstances, and the king, aware of the danger of continuing a struggle in which he was sure to be worsted, recalled Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, the minister whom Aga Mir had originally supplanted. He was then living in retirement at Furrackabad, and readily obeyed the summons which placed him once more at the helm of affairs. Mr. Maddock, the resident, believing him hostile to British interests, objected on this ground to his nomination, but the governor-general, in the hope that he might be able notwithstanding this objection to employ his acknowledged talents in introducing important reforms, consented to acknowledge him. His early measures justified this expectation. The sums squandered on favourites, male and female, were greatly reduced. Many corrupt practices were reformed, and the revenue, levied directly by collectors instead of being farmed out by extortioners, showed signs of improvement. These changes were not effected without encountering vehement opposition; and as the king himself had less sympathy with his subjects than with those who oppressed them, Hakim Mehdi was often successfully thwarted in his best measures. Under such circumstances amelioration was necessarily a slow process, and the resident, who appears to have been somewhat inclined to take the worst view of matters, continued from time to time to report on them so unfavourably, that the necessity of assuming the administration, at least for a season, began to be openly talked of. So thoroughly was Lord William Bentinck at last imbued with the belief that the ruin of the country was not otherwise to be averted, that in April, 1831, when making a tour through the Upper provinces, he visited the king at Lucknow, and plainly intimated to him, both orally and in writing, that if he did not immediately begin to govern on better principles, the course which had been followed in the cases of the Carnatic and of Tanjore would be followed in regard to Oude, and it would be necessary for him to exchange his position of king for that of pensioner.

Inconsistent
policy of the
British
government
towards
Oude

The menace thus held out was too serious both in the substance and the manner of it not to produce considerable alarm, and not only the minister, who deserved some credit for the good he had already effected, promised to exert himself more energetically, but the king, who had too often declined to give him the necessary support, declared that in future nothing that could contribute to the cause of good government would be wanting on his part. There is no reason to suspect either the king or his minister of insincerity when they made these declarations. The extinction of Oude as an independent kingdom was threatened, and nothing could prevent the threat from being carried into execution except immediate compliance with the reforms demanded. There were numerous obstacles however to be surmounted, and it is easy to under-

A D 1831.

Relations of
British
government
with OudeHakim
Mehdi's re-
tirement.

stand how the same influence which had previously thwarted the minister was again vigorously exerted in opposing him. Under these circumstances what was the duty of the British government? Unquestionably to strengthen the hands of the minister, and more especially, when both he and his sovereign declared their inability to carry out the required reforms without extraneous aid, to furnish that aid liberally to any extent that might be necessary. Strange to say, the governor-general, after interfering so far with the internal management of Oude as to threaten its existence as an independent kingdom unless certain changes were introduced, refused when applied to to give the least assistance in carrying them into effect, and with singular inconsistency attempted to justify the refusal on the ground that the policy which he had adopted would not allow him to interfere. In vain did Hakim Mehdi argue that by the treaty made with the Marquis of Wellesley, the right of interference, at least so far as to give advice, was distinctly recognized; that the interference now asked was certainly not greater than that which the governor-general had just been exercising, and that the British government by standing aloof was making itself responsible for the future mal-administration of Oude, since "he who sees a blind man on the edge of a precipice, and will not put forth a hand to hold him back, is not innocent of his destruction." Lord William Bentinck remained immovable, and while complaining loudly of the domestic policy of Oude, obstinately refused to assist in improving it. It would be unjust to suspect him of anything so Machiavellian as a design to hasten the crisis which he professed to deprecate; but the courtiers of Oude did not reason very illogically when they inferred, from the inconsistency and caprice which marked his conduct, that the object at which he was aiming was not so much to improve the government, as to find in prevailing abuses a plausible pretext for usurping it. From his refusal to strengthen the hands of Hakim Mehdi, that minister found it impossible to maintain his position, and retired into private life, leaving Nazir-ud-din entirely in the hands of worthless favourites, under whom misgovernment advanced with accelerated pace. It deserves to be noticed as a remarkable proof of the progress which European ideas had made even in Oude, that Hakim Mehdi on his retirement published a defence of his conduct in a local newspaper, called the *Mofusil Akhbar*. "In appealing to the opinion of the public," he says, "I profess that I am solely actuated by a desire to do myself justice, and I disclaim every intention of wishing to draw conclusions inimical to the character of any one; facts as they are here related will speak for themselves." In another part of the statement, speaking of the two years over which his administration extended, he says: "I challenge any one to prove the existence of a defalcation of a single rupee during the whole period. I can, indeed, lay my hand upon my heart and solemnly declare before Heaven, that the whole of my conduct was actuated with the most disinterested views of serving his majesty and the state." His chief difficulties appear to have proceeded from

A D 1831. the harem, and the cause is sufficiently explained when he mentions that five of the inmates drew from the jaghires assigned to them an aggregate annual income of £192,000

Relation with the Nizam In the Nizam's dominions a considerable change was produced by the death of Secunder Jah, and the succession of his eldest son under the title of Nazim-ud-Dowlah. The new monarch immediately announced his intention to manage his own affairs, and the British government, in accordance with the professed system of non-interference, lost no time in assuring him that he was at perfect liberty to select his ministers and frame his internal policy. The immediate dismissal of Chandoo was in consequence considered certain, but he had managed during his long tenure of office to give so many influential persons an interest in his continued possession of it, that he kept his place, and prodigal expenditure and tyrannical extortion continued to go hand in hand as before. While declining to interfere directly for the suppression of these evils, the governor-general was not indisposed to follow the course which he had adopted in Oude, and menaced the government with extinction. Matters however did not seem as yet fully ripe for extreme measures, and before any decided steps were taken, the affairs of the Nizam under a different form had begun to attract much attention both at home and in India.

Transactions of William Palmer & Co.

When the true character of the transactions of William Palmer and Co with the Nizam's government was detected and exposed by Sir Charles Metcalfe, the directors, not satisfied with ordering that the countenance which had been given to them should be immediately withdrawn, imprudently went further, and publicly declared that the loans made by the house both to the state and to individuals being usurious, the payment of them could not be legally enforced. The directors, in causing this declaration to be made, had proceeded on the belief that the loans were struck at by Act 13 Geo. III. c. 63, which enacts in its 33d section that "no subject of his majesty" in the East Indies "shall, upon any contract which shall be made from and after the 1st day of August, 1774, take directly or indirectly, for loan of any monies, wares, merchandise, or other commodities whatsoever, above the value of twelve pounds for the forbearance of one hundred pounds for a year; and so after that rate for a greater or lesser sum, or for a longer or shorter time; and that all bonds, contracts, and assurances whatsoever, made after the time aforesaid, for payment of any principal or money to be lent or covenanted to be performed upon, or for any usury whereupon or whereby there shall be reserved or taken above the rate of twelve pounds in the hundred, as aforesaid, shall be utterly void." The directors were in error in supposing that the loans of William Palmer and Co. were in violation of this enactment, for the twelve judges of England when consulted on the subject gave it as their opinion that the above limitation of interest did not apply to loans made to the subjects of native independent princes by British subjects domiciliated and residing within their dominions.

A.D. 1830

extent with the views which had been expressed by the board, for it authorized the resident to intimate to the court of Hyderabad the wish of his government that the claims of William Palmer and Co. against Moonir-ul-Moolk should be settled by arbitration, the Nizam previously engaging to enforce the award. This did not seem to the board to go far enough, and therefore, suppressing the draft entirely, they substituted for it a despatch which, after declaring that the matter in dispute required the interposition of both governments, offered the Nizam the option of two modes of settlement—the one arbitration, and the other a commission. In the former case the umpire, and in the latter the members, were to be nominated by the governor-general; and to make sure that the proceedings would not prove abortive, the Nizam, in making his selection between the two modes, was to engage to give effect to the decision. When this communication should be made to the Nizam, the justice and expediency of a final settlement was to be urgently pressed upon him. The despatch subsequently underwent some verbal alterations, and it was added by way of explanation that nothing beyond earnest recommendation was contemplated, and that even this degree of interference would not have been adopted had the home authorities not felt that they had unintentionally prejudiced the claims by entertaining and promulgating an erroneous opinion of their illegality.

Proceedings
of the Board
of Control
in regard
to claims
of William
Palmer &
Co. against
the Nizam

While admitting as a general rule that nothing can be more improper and impolitic than for the British government to use its influence with the native princes of India in order to enforce the payment of private debts contracted by themselves or their subjects, we are inclined to think that there were circumstances which made the claims of the creditors of William Palmer and Co. an exception to the rule, and that the amount of interference proposed in the despatch of the Board of Control did not go beyond the justice of the case. It seemed otherwise to the directors, who not only objected to it on principle, but determined to avail themselves of every means in their power to prevent the authoritative transmission of the despatch to India. With this view they rescinded the resolution under which they had prepared their original draft, and then declining to take any initiative step in the matter, denied the right of the board to originate any despatch in regard to it. The board, they argued, might, by 33 Geo. III. c. 52, modify to any extent any intended despatch which the directors submitted for approval, provided it related "to the civil or military government or revenues of the said territorial acquisitions in India," and might, moreover, when "the levying of war, or making peace, or treating or negotiating with any of the native states or princes in India" was "the subject matter of any of their deliberations," originate a despatch without consulting the directors, and insure secrecy by transmitting it at once through the secret committee specially appointed for that purpose. But the proposed despatch respecting the claims of William Palmer and Co. did not fall under any of these heads, and therefore, now the directors had resolved to take no further steps in

A D 1833.

Writ of
mandamus
issued
against the
directors

regard to the matter, it was incompetent for the Board of Control to intermeddle. The subject was not one of those on which they might originate a despatch, and transmit it through the secret committee, without consulting the directors, and inasmuch as it did not relate "to the civil or military government or revenues," it was no longer under the cognizance of the board, even for modification, since the directors had formally withdrawn it. Brought to this point, the real question now raised was whether the court of directors, after submitting a proposed despatch to the Board of Control, could subsequently prevent them from adjudicating upon it, by simply withdrawing it and pleading that it did not relate to civil or military government or revenues. The solution of this question obviously depended on the interpretation of the statute, and since the court and the board were equally determined not to yield, it only remained to appeal to a legal tribunal. The board accordingly applied to the Court of King's Bench for a writ of *mandamus*, compelling the directors to transmit the contested despatch. After a full argument the board prevailed, and the issue of the writ on the 29th of January, 1833, left the directors no alternative but to obey, ten of their number however recording a strong protest against the despatch as a violation of treaties, of substantial justice, and of sound policy. The effect of this process was to establish the complete supremacy of the Board of Control, but the point raised must have been of some nicety, as it was deemed necessary in a subsequent statute to correct the vagueness of language used in 33 Geo. III. c. 52, by extending the control of the board to all public matters whatever.

Relations
with the
Mahratta
states.

In regard to the relations of the British government with the Mahratta states a few remarks will suffice. Nagpoor, placed under the almost absolute control of the resident Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Jenkins, had made rapid progress, and the best wish that could be formed for the country was that its actual administration should be continued. This, however, was not practicable. The rajah had attained his nineteenth year, and naturally longing to be his own master, no sooner gave utterance to the wish, than Lord William Bentinck, in accordance with his declared policy, at once complied with it. The native administration was certainly no improvement on that which preceded, but as important checks were still retained, and the native ministers whom the rajah appointed were contented to submit to the guidance of the resident, Nagpoor taken as a whole continued to be prosperous. On the opposite side of India, in the territories of the Guicowar, matters wore a less pleasing aspect. When Syajee Row succeeded to the imbecile prince in whose name he had previously governed, great hopes were entertained. He had always co-operated cordially with the resident, and now that all the restraints which his position as regent imposed upon him were removed, it was naturally expected that his increase of power would be followed by an increase of the general prosperity. It proved otherwise. Paying little regard to his own obligations, he soon began to disre-

A D 1830

Relations
with the
Guicowar

gard those of which, with his own consent, the British government had become guarantees. A collision thus became inevitable, the Guicowar using every means to escape from his obligations, and the resident insisting on his fulfilment of them. One thing which made the Guicowar's conduct more provoking, was, that in refusing to pay his debts he could not plead poverty. On the contrary, he refused to pay, merely that he might be able to gratify a propensity for hoarding, and had managed in the course of five years to deposit in his coffers about £600,000 of surplus revenue, which, by express stipulation, belonged not to him, but to his creditors. The opposition of the resident to this dishonest course only exposed him to insult, and the Guicowar carried his hostility so far that Sir John Malcolm, the governor of Bombay, was obliged to interfere. As there could be no doubt that the guarantees of the British government had been bestowed too lavishly, it was deemed advisable, after Lord William Bentinck became governor-general, to try the effect of tranquillizing measures; and one great source of misunderstanding was removed by means of an arrangement which diminished the number of the guarantees, or restricted them to personal immunity, and restored to the Guicowar several districts, the revenues of which had been sequestered in security. For a time the desired effect appeared to be produced, but the Guicowar ere long returned to his former practices, and at last the forbearance which had been exercised towards him was found only to have rendered interference and restraint absolutely necessary.

Relations
with Holkar

In Holkar's dominions the event of greatest importance during Lord William Bentinck's administration was a new succession, rendered necessary by the death of Mulhar Row Holkar at the age of twenty-seven, in October, 1833. As he left no children, his widow, with the consent of his mother Kesaree Bai, adopted a child of three years old, said to be descended from Tookajee Holkar, and placed him on the musnud under the title of Martand Row, Kesaree Bai acting as his guardian, and Madho Row Furnavese, the minister of the late rajah, continuing to conduct the administration as before. The validity of this succession was soon disputed by Haree Holkar, a nephew of Jeswunt Row Holkar, who, having escaped from Mahaswara, where he had been confined as a prisoner, appeared at the head of a powerful body of supporters and claimed to succeed as legal heir. Hitherto the British government, though the resident had attended Martand Row's installation, had otherwise kept aloof, and on being applied to for aid by Kesaree Bai refused to interfere. A civil war thus became imminent, but Haree Holkar's partizans increased so rapidly that the Bai, believing the contest to be hopeless, abandoned it and invited him to Indore. There being no longer any competition, the governor-general was now able, without violating his system of neutrality, to take part in the proceedings, and Haree Holkar entered Indore accompanied by a British escort. He possessed few qualifications for the elevation thus conferred upon him; and by placing himself entirely in the hands of a worthless and incompetent minister of the

Disputed
succession

name of Revajee Phansia, soon produced so much disturbance and distress, as to make it a serious question whether the British government ought not to undertake the administration and reduce Haree Holkar to the condition of a pensioner. A.D. 1823.

After the death of Dowlut Row Scindia in March, 1827, effect was given to what appeared to have been his intentions, by allowing his favourite wife, Baiza Bai, to adopt as his successor a boy of eleven years of age of the name of Janakajee, and continue in the meantime to govern as regent. In carrying out this arrangement Janakajee was affianced to her grand-daughter. Baiza Bai had consented to these arrangements with great reluctance. Her ambition was to retain the government for life, while she foresaw that Janakajee would in all probability insist in the course of a few years on taking it into his own hands. This actually proved the case, and Baiza Bai enraged began to form a scheme for setting Janakajee entirely aside. Her grand-daughter to whom he was affianced had died, and she had a married daughter, Chimna Bai, who was pregnant, and might produce an heir to the late Scindia in the direct line. These views received no countenance from the British government. The adoption of Janakajee had been sanctioned by all the leading persons in the court and camp at Gwalior, and any attempt to rescind it would be strenuously opposed. Baiza Bai, however, was not to be dissuaded, and commenced the execution of her scheme by placing Janakajee under strict supervision, and making him virtually a prisoner in her palace. He made his escape and took refuge with the resident, declaring that his life was in danger. After a time an apparent reconciliation was effected, but the views of the parties were openly declared, and Lord William Bentinck during a visit which he paid to Gwalior was importuned by both. A decided declaration on his part would undoubtedly have settled the dispute, but from being hampered as usual by his neutral system he refused to utter it, and left the factions to carry on the struggle in their own way, till actual disturbance and threatened anarchy should at last compel him to interfere. At present he only ventured to give an equivocal advice, which being interpreted by Baiza Bai to mean that she was, if possible, to keep her power, and by Janakajee that he was, if possible, to wrest it from her, rather hastened than protracted the crisis. On the 10th of July, 1833, some of the disciplined battalions of Gwalior, who had espoused the cause of Janakajee, having beset the palace, carried him off to the camp, and compelled Baiza Bai to save herself by flight. After taking refuge with her brother Hindoo Row, she was proceeding to the house of the resident, who had declined an invitation to visit her, when she was encountered by a strong body of Janakajee's troops. It was now too late to stand aloof any longer on the neutral system, and the resident succeeded, not without difficulty, in preventing the effusion of blood. Ultimately the Bai saw the necessity of resigning the contest, and retired with a liberal pension to a jaghire in the south of India. The government did not improve under Janakajee. He had owed his success in a great Relations with Scindia.

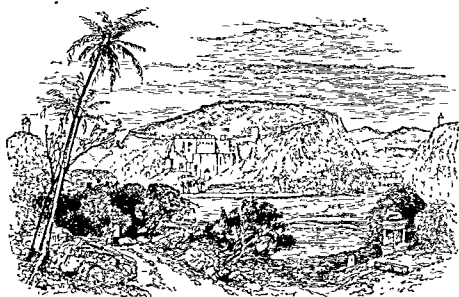
Court intrigues.

Civil war with difficulty prevented.

A.D. 1830.

Disturbances in Boondlee

tions declined the task, and the Rajah of Joudpoor, thus left to seek his own remedy, first remonstrated by an envoy, and then, when this proved unavailing, sent a deputation accompanied by a body of 300 troops to demand the princess, and escort her back to her father's house. The troops encamped outside the town, and the deputation entered. They were met by a number of their countrymen forming the princess's original suite, and sent a messenger to the



TOWN AND PASS OF BOONDEE.—From Grindlay's Scenery of Western India

darbar. The ostensible object was to ask when it would be convenient to receive them, but a murderous design lurked beneath. The messenger was in fact an assassin, who instead of waiting for an answer, drew his sword and plunged it into the heart of Deva Krishan Row, the Boondée minister. The assassin was immediately slain, and the whole deputation would undoubtedly have been massacred, had not Mr. Trevelyan, the political agent, hastened from Kotah, and succeeded in obtaining permission for the departure of all, except three, who being considered leaders, were detained and put to death. Man Singh, the Rajah of Joudpoor, appears to have been privy to the assassination, but it suited him to deny this in the most solemn manner, and to declare that he would be utterly disgraced if he did not signally revenge what he called the murder of his innocent servants at Boondée. In former times the feud which had been thus raised could not have been suppressed without an exterminating war, which would in all probability have spread over the whole of Rajpootana. The governor-general fortunately met the danger with more than his usual promptitude, and after a long and acrimonious discussion a mutual oblivion of injuries was agreed to.

British interference.

Bhim Sing, the Rana of Odeypoor, whose abominable conduct in consenting to the murder of his daughter for the purpose of relieving himself from political embarrassment has already been recorded, died in 1828, after a reign of more

A.D. 1831

Relations
with Odey-
poor

than half a century. During his last years the peace of his territories had been greatly disturbed by wild tribes, particularly the Minas inhabiting the district of Chappan in the south-west, and the Grasias and Bheels of the south and east. They had ultimately been kept permanently in check by a strong body of the Company's troops, but under the non-interference policy these had been withdrawn, and the rana and his minister were told that they must depend entirely upon themselves for the maintenance of internal tranquillity. This was a task to which they were altogether incompetent, and it was not long before marauders were carrying depredations to the very gates of Odeypoor. Jivan Sing, who succeeded his father as rana, had for some time taken an active share in the government, and displayed talents which were deemed capable of restoring tranquillity to his country. Such a prince was surely entitled to the utmost encouragement, and yet one of the first steps taken by the governor-general was to intimate to him, that henceforth he must not calculate on any assistance in maintaining internal tranquillity. The state of his hill districts, he was told, did not immediately concern British India. On this selfish and short-sighted policy, at the very time when the chiefs were openly declaring themselves unable to check the marauding propensities of their dependants, the regular troops of the Company were withdrawn, and the levy of irregulars was disbanded. At the same time the residency was abolished, and the communication between the two governments was transferred to the political agent stationed at Ajmere, as a subordinate of the resident at Delhi. It is right to



A YOGI-FAKIR.—FROM MR. DELMOE
Hindoo and European Manners.

add that the rajah, though thus suddenly involved in difficulties, managed in a great measure to surmount them. Partly, it may be, from a feeling of despondency he gave way at first to habits of dissipation, but he had the good sense and firmness afterwards to change his course, and discharge his proper duties with assiduity and success.

The relations of the British government about this period with Man Sing, the Rajah of Joud poor, were so little of a friendly nature that open hostilities were at one time threatened. From a superstitious veneration for a sect of religious mendicants or *yogis*, he not only submitted to them as his spiritual guides, and allotted them about a fifth of his whole revenues, but intrusted them with the whole power of the state. Under the idea that he thus enjoyed supernatural protection, he did not deem it necessary to guard against giving offence, and when remonstrated with, returned sullen or insulting answers. When the governor-general made a visit to Ajmere in 1831, he excused himself on

With
Joudpoor

frivolous grounds for declining the invitation which he received to meet him. A D. 1834
It was also known, that so far from exerting himself to suppress the robber tribes of the desert of Parkar, he was in league with them, and had on one occasion, when they were suddenly dispersed, given a secret asylum to one of their chiefs. Complaints of depredations, either directly committed or instigated by him, were made from various other quarters, and, as remonstrance had no effect upon him, it was resolved at once to have recourse to decisive measures. Accordingly, at the end of the rains in 1834, a large force assembled at Ajmere under Brigadier-general Stevenson, and prepared to move against Joudpoor. This demonstration was of itself sufficient, and Man Sing hastened to avert the ruin which impended over him, by sending a deputation to Ajmere with full power to make every concession. "What occasion could there be," said his vakeels, "for the march of an army against the rajah? A single *chuprasi* (a servant wearing a badge) sent to Joudpoor to communicate the governor-general's pleasure would suffice." These professions were taken at no more than they were worth, and a regular treaty was concluded, obliging the rajah to pay indemnity for past offences, and curtailing his power of future mischief.

Threatened hostilities with Joudpoor



A CHUPRASI — From Asiatic Costumes

Relations with Jeypoor

In the Rajpoor state of Jeypoor, the reluctance of the governor-general to interfere with its internal administration let loose the elements of discord, and gave rise to a series of intrigues which issued at last in the perpetration of an atrocious crime. The ranee or mother of the young rajah, acting under the influence of a person of the name of Jota Ram, endeavoured to perpetuate her power, and was violently opposed by the leading *thakoors* or chiefs. A series of party struggles in consequence took place, and the contending factions appealed to the governor-general, each in the hope of obtaining a favourable decision. Early in 1834, while matters were thus in suspense, the ranee died, and an attempt was made to get quit of all competing claims for the regency, by dispensing with it altogether, and giving the personal administration to the rajah himself, who was now approaching maturity. Jota Ram meanwhile managed to maintain his authority, and the strife became still more bitter than before. A momentary cessation took place when the British army began to assemble at Ajmere. It was destined ostensibly against Joudpoor, but as it might easily embrace Jeypoor in its operations, the contending factions there deemed it prudent to suspend their intestine struggles. The submission of the Joudpoor rajah having rendered the expedition against him unnecessary, it was determined to employ part of the troops in an expedition against the robber

same sentence, though recorded against Jota Ram and his brother, was not executed, and was ultimately commuted into imprisonment for life within the British territory. A.D. 1831.

Another part of Lord William Bentinck's administration, which must not be allowed to pass unnoticed, is that which relates to his intercourse with states, so remotely situated that they might be considered as lying beyond the ordinary sphere of Indian policy. The alarm felt for the safety of the Indian empire by the British ministry, was formerly caused by the proceedings of the French; but more recently it had taken a different direction, and the rapid encroachments made by the Russians in Persia were regarded as the prelude of an invasion of India from that quarter. It was therefore deemed good policy not to remain mere spectators of this approaching danger, but to anticipate it by forming alliances with the states through which an invading army must advance, and thus throw a formidable barrier in its way. At first the real design was not mentioned, and nothing more was ostensibly proposed, than the establishment of commercial intercourse, by opening the navigation of the Indus, and thus obtaining access to the heart of Central Asia. Communications with this view were accordingly opened with the Ameers of Scinde, who after manifesting great reluctance were induced to conclude a treaty, by which the merchants and traders of India were permitted to convey their goods along the Indus, free from vexatious delays, and subject only to moderate rates of duty. Treaties with independent native princes
The Ameers of Scinde



RUNJEET SING'S ENCAMPMENT NEAR ROOPUR, on the Sutlej.—From White's Views in the Himalayas.

In this treaty the Ameers, unable to conceal their suspicions, procured the insertion of a declaration that the contracting parties should never "look with a covetous eye on the possessions of each other." Similar treaties were concluded with the Nabob of Blawulpoor and with Runjeet Sing. With the latter a closer connection than a mere commercial treaty could form seemed desirable, Runjeet Sing

A D 1831

and in order to conciliate his friendship, Lord Ellenborough, then president of the Board of Control, addressed a letter to him in the name and by command



MOUNTED TROOPER OF SKINNER'S HORSE
From Major Leard's Views in India.

of his majesty William IV., with a present of some English horses of uncommon size, for which he was known to have a fancy. The letter and present were delivered by Lieutenant Alexander Burnes at Lahore, in July, 1831, and in the following October a meeting took place at Roopur on the Sutlej, between Runjeet Sing and the governor-general. The only avowed object of the meeting was to strengthen the bonds of a friendship already existing, and a week passed away in the interchange of visits, gaudy ceremonials, and military evolutions, the governor-general having with him, in addition to his usual body guards, two squadrons of his Majesty's 16th lancers, a troop of horse artillery, two risalas of Skinner's horse, his Majesty's 31st foot,

and two regiments of native infantry, while Runjeet Sing had come escorted by 10,000 of his best horse, and 6000 of his best infantry. It was suspected that more serious matters mingled with these amusements, and there is now no room to doubt that the foundation was then laid of that alliance, the bitter fruits of which were afterwards reaped in the war with Afghanistan.

At this very time Shah Shujah, the ex-King of Cabool, who had been driven from his throne more than twenty years before, was living at Loodiana, a pensioner on the bounty of the British government. Previous to the above meeting at Roopur, the ex-king, with a view to his restoration, had been negotiating with Runjeet Sing, and the conditions had been all but definitively arranged. These conditions were known to the governor-general, and it is impossible to believe that Runjeet Sing allowed the week to pass away without sounding him on the subject, and ascertaining that in aiding the restoration of Shah Shujah he would at least have the acquiescence of the British government. It is true that Lord William Bentinck, when directly applied to by Shah Shujah, fell back on his neutral policy and declined to interfere; but it is known that the proceedings of Dost Mahomed, the actual ruler of Cabool, had already awakened suspicion, and that the governor-general, under instructions from England, was jealously watching his intercourse directly with Persia, and as it was therefore concluded indirectly with Russia. Hence the first attempt of Shah Shujah to recover his throne, as it was commenced in 1833, when Lord

Shah Shujah
attempts to
recover the
throne of
Cabool

William Bentinck was governor-general and had undoubtedly his best wishes, though it did not receive his actual co-operation, may not improperly be regarded as one of the important events connected with his administration. A.D. 1833.

When Shah Shujah started from Loodiana in January, 1833, he could only muster a few hundred followers; on his arrival at Shikarpoor they amounted to 30,000. The Ameers of Scinde gave him a most friendly reception, and continued for a time to furnish him with abundant supplies; but when he delayed his departure, and instead of being satisfied, continued daily to increase his demands, they became completely alienated, and determined to rid themselves of the burden at all hazards. They accordingly collected their forces. Shah Shujah on his part was not disinclined to an appeal to arms, and in January, 1834, a pitched battle was fought near Roree. Shah Shujah proved victorious, and the Ameers having purchased his departure by consenting to pay him an additional subsidy, and assist him with an auxiliary force, he commenced his advance on Kandahar. He encountered little resistance, and was in hopes of an easy capture, when the approach of Dost Mahomed from Cabool, at the head of a powerful force, completely changed the aspect of affairs. Shah Shujah retired to Abbasabad, where he was brought to bay, and ventured to risk a battle. Owing partly to the treachery, and partly to the cowardice of his followers, he was signally discomfited, and fled westward with a slender escort to the fort of Laush, the chief of which gave him an asylum. After a short delay he marched north to Furrab, expecting reinforcements from Herat, but being disappointed, and threatened by a party of horse under Rehim Khan, he fled across the desert of Seistan, and after great privations, reached Kelat. His pursuer had followed close upon his track, but the chief of Kelat having taken the ex-king under his protection, refused to surrender him. On this a characteristic bargain was struck, the chief of Kelat agreeing to withdraw his protection, and Rehim Khan agreeing to desist from pursuit. Shah Shujah, thus obliged once more to shift for himself, repaired to Hyderabad, where the Ameers treated him with more kindness than might have been anticipated after their late quarrel. From Hyderabad he proceeded north-east across the desert of Jessulmeer, and again fixed his residence at Loodiana. His second expedition furnishes a tale of disgrace and disaster which must be reserved for future narration. Proceedings of Shah Shujah
His ultimate discomfiture.

mass of conflicting evidence had been given on the subject, the result acquiesced in by the most competent judges was, that during the last fifteen years of the Company's monopoly of the China trade, they had realized from it an aggregate profit of £15,414,000, or rather more than a million sterling annually. But when this fact was admitted, it carried little weight with it, because it was alleged that the profit was obtained by enhancing the price, and was, in fact, a tax levied upon the whole consumers of tea for the benefit of a particular corporation. Even admitting that the profit was legitimately gained by fair trade without taxing the consumers, the question still returned, Why should this profit go entirely into the pockets of one class of individuals, to the exclusion of all the other merchants of the kingdom? Behind this question there was still another. The Company made a million annually by the China trade. Was this the maximum profit that could be realized? The extinction of monopoly naturally extended commerce, and there was therefore every reason to expect, that if the trade were thrown open, it would rapidly extend, so as at once to add greatly to the amount of aggregate profit realized by individuals, and of revenue drawn by the public. To these views no solid objection could be stated.

A D 1829.

Arguments
against the
Company's
monopoly.Question
as to the
future
government
of India.

After the question of monopoly was virtually decided, and the Company, if continuing to trade at all, could not expect to occupy any vantage ground, the next point was to settle the future government of India. Was the old machinery to be thrown aside as worn out and useless, or might it not be possible by means of alterations and repairs to render it more efficient than ever? The moment the monopoly of the Company was extinguished, its trade, exposed to general competition, ceased to be of any value. Nothing, therefore, could be lost by agreeing to abandon it. Acting on this view ministers proposed that the Company should entirely sink their commercial, and in future act only in a political character, their governing powers and relations to the Board of Control remaining, with slight modifications, the same as before. The directors, when this proposal was submitted to them, expressed great doubts of being able to carry on the government, when divested of their commercial character, but they were willing, if certain difficulties which they pointed out could be obviated, to recommend to the proprietors to close with the proposal. One important point, however, still remained to be explained. Whatever might be the view taken as to the territorial rights of the Company, they were certainly possessed of a large amount of capital, of which it never could be proposed to deprive them, and it was therefore necessary to ascertain how this capital was in future to be secured, and from what source the dividends payable on it were to be derived.

On this subject a serious difference of opinion arose. The proposal of ministers was, that the whole of the Company's commercial assets should, so far as possible, be converted into money, and that with the sum thus obtained a portion of the Indian debt, bearing interest equal in amount to £630,000,

A D 1829

Negotiations
between
government
and the
Company

now annually payable in dividends, should be discharged. In future the dividends would be regarded as an annuity payable to the proprietors of India stock, and charged upon the territorial revenue of India. After a certain fixed term it would be in the option of parliament to redeem this annuity, by paying for every £5, 5s. of annuity, £100 of capital. The directors objected that these assets, if converted into cash, would suffice to purchase an investment in consols equal to the amount of their dividends, and that they were, therefore, entitled in fairness to demand that the assets should either be employed in making such an investment for the behoof of the proprietors, or at least so employed as to provide an effectual guarantee, both for the regular half-yearly payment of the dividends, and in the event of redemption, for the payment of such an amount of principal as would produce the dividends by investing it in the funds. According to the Company the value of their stock, including assets of every kind, amounted on the 1st of May, 1829, to £21,103,000, and they had also a random claim of £5,000,000 as the value of fixed property in India. This last claim, however, was very problematical, and even in making up the stock to twenty-one millions, one item of £4,632,000, as due from territory, was added, and another of £3,796,000, as chargeable to territory, omitted. The propriety both of the addition and the omission was strongly questioned, and if, as was not improbable, the one should fall to be deducted from the assets, and the other added to the debit of the Company, the effect would be to cut off nearly eight millions and a half from the aggregate capital, reducing its value at one stroke from £21,103,000 to £12,675,000. Nor was this all. Several of the items composing this lower value were subject to dispute, and it was therefore not impossible that in making a final adjustment, whether by arbitration or legal proceedings, other important deductions might be made. These considerations rendered a compromise desirable, and the original proposal of ministers was ultimately accepted, with this important addition, 'that two millions sterling of the commercial assets should be invested in the funds, and there accumulated to form a collateral security for the capital of the Company and its future redemption.

Direct
question
agitated.

The next point to be considered was the term before which the power of redemption should not be exercised, and to which the government of India should be continued to the Company. Ministers were willing that the compulsory redemption should not be competent within forty years, but they refused to accede to the proposal of the directors, that the government should be continued to the Company till the annuity should be actually redeemed; ultimately, however, they conceded so far as to consent that the government should be continued to the Company for twenty years, and that at the end of this or any subsequent period they should not be deprived of it without a three years' notice, and the option of demanding payment of the capital, and employing the whole or any part of it in resuming their trade, should they see fit to

do so. Among the various other points discussed, the only one requiring particular notice at present, was the degree of power to be possessed respectively by the Board of Control and the Company. Ministers proposed that the absolute power which the Company now possessed of recalling the governors of the presidencies and the commander-in-chief should be restricted, by giving the board a veto on the recall. This proposal was strenuously objected to by the directors, who maintained that the natural tendency of the new arrangements was to diminish their influence, and that therefore they were entitled to expect, that if any change were to be made in the relative positions of the board and the Company, it would be by curtailing the overgrown authority of the former, and strengthening the impaired powers of the latter. Following out this view, they referred to the manner in which the directors had been coerced by the issue of the writ of *mandamus*, in regard to the claims of creditors in the Nizam's dominions, and threatened with the issue of the same writ in regard to similar claims in Oude. Such proceedings might be repeated, and as their obvious effect was to weaken the hands of government, and even bring it into contempt, it seemed absolutely necessary either to give a right of appeal in the event of differences between the court and the board, or at all events to provide for their publicity by bringing them directly under the notice of parliament. Ministers gave way so far as to desist from pressing for a veto on the powers of recall already enjoyed by the court, but they peremptorily refused to give a right of repeal, and held that publicity was already sufficiently secured, by the right which the directors possessed, in common with all the other subjects of the realm, of approaching parliament by petition.

A D 1833.

Negotiations
between
government
and the
Company

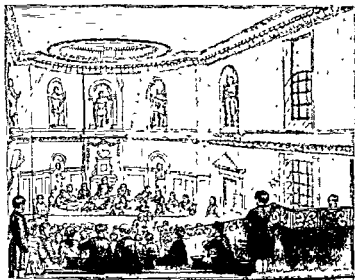
On the 25th of March, 1833, the correspondence between the directors and the Board of Control as representing the ministry was submitted to the court of proprietors, and on the 15th day of April, to which day the meeting had been adjourned, Sir John Malcolm moved a series of resolutions, embodying in substance the leading proposals above made by the directors, and signifying the assent of the Company "to conduct the government of India, at the sacrifices demanded, provided they were furnished with powers sufficient for the effective discharge of so important a duty, and their pecuniary rights and claims were adjusted upon the principle of fair and liberal compromise." The resolutions gave rise to a debate which was spun out to seven days, and were finally carried by ballot by a majority of 477 to 52. As yet, however, all that had been done was only preliminary to the real battle which was to be fought in parliament. On the 13th of June, 1833, the subject was introduced to the House of Commons by Mr. Charles Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg), the president of the Board of Control, who concluded a long explanatory speech by moving the three following resolutions:—"1. That it is expedient that all his majesty's subjects shall be at liberty to repair to the ports of the empire of China, and to trade in tea and in all other productions of the said empire, subject

Resolutions
adopted by
parliament.

A.D. 1833

Resolutions
adopted by
parliament
regarding
East India
Company

to such regulations as parliament shall enact for the protection of the commercial and political interests of this country. 2 That it is expedient that, in case the East India Company shall transfer to the crown, on behalf of the Indian territory, all assets and claims of every description belonging to the said Company, the crown on behalf of the Indian territory shall take on itself all the obligations of the said Company, of whatever description, and that the said Company shall receive from the revenues of the said territory such a sum, and paid in such a manner, and under such regulations, as parliament shall enact. 3 That it is expedient that the government of the British possessions in India be intrusted to the said Company, under such conditions and regulations as parliament shall enact, for the purpose of extending the commerce of this country, and of securing the good government, and promoting the religious



THE COURT OF PROPRIETORS, EAST INDIA HOUSE.—From an original drawing by J. L. Williams.

and moral improvement of the people of India." It is so remarkable as to be not undeserving of record, that these resolutions, though involving the future government of India, and the consequent condition of its myriads of inhabitants, were passed almost without discussion, and awakened so little interest that a very large majority of the members of the House of Commons did not even deign to be present. Adverting to the fact a few weeks afterwards, the late Lord Macaulay thus expressed himself:—"The house has neither the time, nor the knowledge, nor the inclination to attend to an Indian budget, or to the statement of Indian extravagance, or to the discussion of Indian local grievances. A broken head in Coldbath Fields excites greater interest in this house than

¹ This apartment was formerly the tea sale room. In niches were statues of Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, Sir Eyre Coote, General Stringer Lawrence,

the Marquis Cornwallis and the Marquis of Wellesley, Sir George Pococke, and, subsequently to his death, the Duke of Wellington.

three pitched battles in India ever would excite. This is not a figure of speech A.D. 1833.
but a literal description of fact, and were I called upon for proof of it, I would refer to a circumstance which must be still in the recollection of the house. When my right honourable friend Mr. Charles Grant brought forward his important propositions for the future government of India, there were not as many members present as generally attend upon an ordinary turnpike bill."

The resolutions adopted by the House of Commons were, on the 5th of July, introduced to the House of Lords by the Marquis of Lansdowne. He could enter more fully than Mr. Grant had done into the particulars of the measure, as the bill, embodying all its provisions, had been laid on the table of the House of Commons, and read a first time on the 28th of June. The discussion which followed was remarkable chiefly for the opposition which the resolutions, and the government plan generally, received from the Duke of Wellington, and the contrary view taken by his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, who, though unable from indisposition to attend in his place, had authorized the Marquis of Lansdowne to express his entire concurrence in them. The first reading of the bill in the House of Commons had been merely formal, but on the 10th of July, when the second reading was moved, an attempt was made to delay further procedure by the following amendment:—"That the confiding the political administration of our East India possessions, with the interests of 100,000,000 of people, to the direction of a joint-stock company, and taxing the natives of those countries for the payment of the dividends of a mercantile concern to the constantly varying holders of East India stock, is a question involving too many important considerations to be hastily decided on, more especially for so long a term as twenty years; and that, as the other business of the session is already more than sufficient to occupy the whole time and attention of the legislature to bring it to a satisfactory completion, it is expedient that a short bill be passed for the opening of the trade with China in April, 1834, and that all the arrangements which may be thought desirable for the administration of India should be deferred till next session." This amendment was feebly supported. While the bill was in committee motions were made to limit the term of the Company's government to ten years, to prevent proposed changes in the constitution of the presidencies, to restrict the legislative power given to the governor-general in council, and to prohibit any extension of the ecclesiastical establishment; but these, with various others of minor moment, found little favour, and the bill came out of committee with its features almost unaltered. The third reading was fixed for the 26th of July, but three days previously the directors applied for a postponement. Several of their suggestions, particularly that of giving a right of appeal, or at least of publicity, in the event of a difference of opinion between the court and the board, had been unceremoniously rejected, and they had therefore summoned a court of proprietors for the purpose of considering whether they ought not to

Bill embodying resolutions adopted by House of Commons

A D 1833

Bill em-
bodying
resolutions
of House of
Commons
regarding
East India
Company

present a petition to parliament stating their objections to the bill as it now stood. Ministers declined to postpone the third reading, but the proprietors agreed to a petition, objecting particularly to the absence of any provision for reporting differences between the board and the court to parliament, to the changes in the constitution of the subordinate governments, to the erection of a fourth presidency at Agra, to the extension of the ecclesiastical establishment, and to the expense needlessly incurred in the maintenance of the college at Haileybury. They prayed to be heard by counsel in support of these objections. This was refused, mainly on the ground that the application was too late, and the third reading passed.

Progress of
the bill

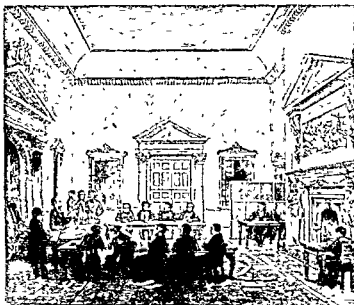
The bill transmitted to the House of Lords was read a first time on the 29th of July, and a second time on the 2d of August. When about to be committed on the 5th, the proprietors again presented their petition, and prayed to be heard by counsel. The application was refused as before, but Lord Ellenborough, who led the opposition, and was seconded by the Duke of Wellington, moved, "that it be an instruction to the committee to omit all such clauses in the bill as relate to alterations in the constitution and power of the governments of the several presidencies of India." This motion having been rejected, the bill made rapid progress in committee, and was reported on the 9th of August. Before the third reading was proceeded with, a short delay took place to allow the court of directors and proprietors to decide on the course which they were to pursue. They had made appearance in both houses as petitioners against the bill, and as their objections had not been obviated, it was possible that they might decline to part with their assets and accept of the government of India on the terms offered. On the 12th of August the court of directors adopted, in opposition to a strong dissent by both the chairman and deputy, the following resolution:—"That the East India bill having arrived at its last stage in the House of Lords, it becomes the duty of the court of directors to submit to their constituents a final opinion regarding the bill as it now stands; and while the court are still impressed with the belief that the cessation of the Company's trade will greatly weaken its position in this country, and consequently impair its efficiency in the administration of the government of India—whilst, also, they regard with much anxiety the increase of powers given by the said bill to the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, and greatly regret that parliament has not provided some rule of publicity to act as a salutary check both upon the board and the court; and whilst, further, the court entertain the most serious apprehensions of the injurious effect upon the finances of India, which must result from the loss of the trade as a source of direct profit, and as a safe and beneficial channel of remittance, and from the new charges which the bill imposes—yet, reviewing all the correspondence which has passed with his majesty's ministers on this subject, trusting that the extensive powers of the board will be exercised with

Resolutions
of court of
directors

A D 1833.

Resolutions
of court of
directors
regarding
India bill.

moderation, and so as not to interfere with the independence of the Company as a body acting intermediately between the king's government and the government of India, which independence all parties have admitted it to be of vital importance to maintain; and relying with confidence that parliament will interpose for the relief of any financial difficulties into which the Company may unavoidably be cast through the operation of extensive changes which the bill proposes to effect—the court of directors cannot do otherwise than recommend to the proprietors to defer to the pleasure expressed by both Houses of Parliament, and to consent to place their right to trade for their own profit in abeyance, in order that they may continue to exercise the government of India for



THE COURT OF DIRECTORS EAST INDIA HOUSE.—From an original drawing by J. L. Williams.

the further term of twenty years, upon the conditions and under the arrangements embodied in the said bill." The opinion of the proprietors, ascertained by a ballot taken on the 16th of August, was in accordance with that of the directors. This seems to have been regarded so much as a matter of course, that a mere fraction of the proprietors recorded their votes, the numbers being 173 against 64. On the same day when this ballot was taken, the bill was read a third time, and on the 28th of August it received the royal assent. It ranks in the statute-book as 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 85, and is entitled, "An Act for effecting an arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better government of his Majesty's Indian territories, till the 30th day of April, 1854."

The bill
passed.

¹ This apartment is an exact cube of thirty feet, and the wainscoting being rich dark brown, and much enriched with gilding, and there being several large looking-glasses, the general appearance of the room is very cosy. The marble mantelpiece, sup-

ported by caryatides, boldly sculptured, represents Britannia receiving offerings from India, along with typical figures of Asia, Africa, and the river Thames, and allegorical emblems of peace and commerce.

A D 1833

Leading
sections of
new India
bill

Though the general purport of this important act has already been explained, a brief analysis of its leading provisions seems still to be required. It consists of 117 sections; but as many of these merely recapitulate former arrangements, or relate to points of which it is unnecessary to take particular notice, the analysis may be made without entering much into detail. The first section, after a recital of the Act 53 Geo. III. c. 155, which renewed the charter now about to expire, enacts, that from and after the 2d of April, 1834, all "territories now in possession and under the government of the said Company, except the island of St Helena, shall remain and continue under such government," and that all "real and personal estate whatsoever" belonging to the Company at the above date, shall be held "by the said Company, in trust for his majesty, his heirs and successors, for the service of the government of India, discharged of all claims of the said Company to any profit or advantage therefrom to their own use, except the dividend on their capital stock secured to them as hereinafter is mentioned." By section 2 all rights, powers, and privileges, "whether military or civil," heretofore granted and not repealed, nor repugnant to the present act, are to remain intact with the Company. Section 3 enacts that "the exclusive right of trading with the dominions of the Emperor of China," continued to the Company by 53 Geo. III. c. 155, "shall cease;" and section 4, that the Company "shall, with all convenient speed, after the said 22d April, 1834, close their commercial business, and make sale" of all their "property whatsoever, which may not be retained for the purposes of the government of the said territories." Sections 5-10 inclusive, regulate the mode of winding up the commercial business, provide for the granting of reasonable compensations and allowances to persons whose interests may be affected by the discontinuance of the Company's trade, and charge all the actual debts of the Company, as well as those which shall henceforth be lawfully contracted on account of the government of India, on its revenues, declaring "that neither any stock or effects which the said Company may hereafter have to their own use, nor the dividend by this act secured to them, nor the directors or proprietors of the said Company, shall be liable to or chargeable with any of the said debts, payments, or liabilities."

Rate and
payment of
dividend

Section 11 fixed the rate and payment of dividend, by enacting that out of the territorial revenues there shall be paid to, or retained by the Company, to their own use, a yearly dividend, payable in Great Britain by equal half-yearly payments, "after the rate of £10, 10s. per cent. on the present amount of their capital stock." This "present amount," as originally subscribed and successively augmented by a series of statutes, was exactly £6,000,000 sterling, but as it bore interest at $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and was declared by section 12 not to be redeemable by parliament till the 30th of April, 1874, on payment of £200 for every £100 of stock, the real value as thus determined by the sum payable in the event of redemption was £12,000,000. This sum might by section 13 be

demand on a year's notice any time after 1854, should the Company then "cease to retain," or "by the authority of parliament be deprived of the possession and government" of India. Sections 14 to 17 are occupied with providing additional security for the regular payment of the dividend, and the final redemption of the capital. For this purpose the sum of £2,000,000 sterling is to be invested in the funds and bear compound interest at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It was to be placed in a separate account with the commissioners of the national debt, to be entitled "The Account of the Security Fund of the India Company;" and the dividends upon it were to be employed in the purchase of additional stock in the funds till the whole should amount to £12,000,000 sterling. In the event of any failure, or delay in remittances from India to meet the dividend, the security fund might be drawn upon to any amount necessary to make up the deficiency; and at all times the dividend was to form a preferable charge on any part of the territorial revenues of India which might be remitted to Great Britain. Section 18 may be passed over, as it only contains a saving clause, to the effect that nothing contained in the act shall prejudice the claims of the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot.

Leading sections of new India bill.

Sections 19 to 37 are almost entirely occupied in defining the powers of the Board of Control. The greater part of these differ little, if at all, from those previously existing, and it is therefore necessary to notice only a few of the more marked changes. As the law previously stood, the directors were prohibited from sending any "orders or instructions whatever, relating to the civil or military government or revenues" of the territorial acquisitions in India, "until the same shall have been submitted to the consideration of, and approved by" the board; and they were moreover required to pay obedience to "such orders and instructions as they shall from time to time receive from the said board of commissioners touching or concerning the civil and military government of the said territories and acquisitions, and the revenues of the same." When the court and the board quarrelled in regard to the interference which ought to be used in favour of the claims of William Palmer and Co., and the writ of *mandamus* was applied for, the directors argued that the despatch which they were required to send did not relate "to the civil or military government or revenues" of the territorial acquisitions in India, and that they were therefore entitled to decline to send it. Though the argument proved unavailing, and the writ was issued, it was deemed prudent to leave no room in future for such a captious interpretation, and therefore, in the present act, words at once more definite and more comprehensive are employed, and it is enacted "that no orders, instructions, despatches, official letters, or communications whatever, relating to the said territories or government thereof, or to the property or rights vested in the said Company in trust as aforesaid, or to any public matters whatever, shall be at any time sent or given by the said court of directors, or any committee of the said directors, until the same shall have been submitted for the con-

Powers of the Board of Control.

A D 1833.

Leading
sections of
new India
bill

sideration of, and approved by the said board;" and, however much they may have been altered, the directors are "required forthwith to send the said orders, instructions, despatches, official letters, or communications, in the form approved by the said board, to their destinations." By section 32, indeed, the directors may within fourteen days make a written representation, containing "such remarks, observations, or explanations, as they shall think fit," and the board are "required to take every such representation, and the several matters therein contained or alleged, into their consideration," but their decision, whatever it may be, is to be "final and conclusive upon the directors," except in one single case, which is so special that it must be of very rare occurrence. The 33d section thus describes it: "If it shall appear to the said court of directors that any orders, instructions, despatches, official letters, or communications, except such as shall pass through the secret committee, upon which directions may be so given by the said board as aforesaid, are contrary to law, it shall be in the power of the said board, and the said court of directors, to send a special case, to be agreed upon by and between them, and to be signed by the president of the said board, and the chairman of the said Company, to three or more of the judges of his majesty's Court of King's Bench, for the opinion of the said judges; and the said judges are hereby required to certify their opinion upon any case so submitted to them, and to send a certificate thereof to the said president and chairman, which opinion shall be final and conclusive."

Limited
powers of
the directors
in regard to
administra-
tion.

It was thus only when the board happened to blunder so egregiously as to issue orders which could not be legally obeyed, that the directors could resist them by calling in the aid of the judges of the King's Bench. Even the sorry privilege of making unavailing representations was in the most important matters denied them, since the power of transmitting despatches through the secret committee, which was always competent to the board, was enlarged by the present act, the 36th section of which, relating to this subject, is as follows:—"Provided also and be it enacted, that if the said board shall be of opinion that the subject matter of any of their deliberations concerning the levying war, or making peace, or treating or negotiating with any of the native princes or states in India, or with any other princes or states, or touching the policy to be observed with regard to such princes or states, intended to be communicated in orders, despatches, official letters, or communications to any of the governments or presidencies in India, or to any officers or servants of the said Company, shall be of a nature to require secrecy, it shall and may be lawful for the said board to send their orders, despatches, official letters, or communications to the secret committee of the said court of directors, to be appointed as is by this act directed, who shall thereupon, without disclosing the same, transmit the same according to the tenor thereof, or pursuant to the directions of the said board, to the respective governments and presidencies, officers and servants; and that the said governments and presidencies, officers and servants, shall be

bound to pay a faithful obedience thereto, in like manner as if such orders and despatches, official letters, or communications, had been sent to them by the said court of directors." One might have supposed that these sections which empower the board, whenever secrecy was deemed expedient, to send despatches to India without even acquainting the directors as a body with their contents, and to modify to any extent the despatches originating with the directors themselves, might have sufficed, but in order that there might be no possible doubt as to the absolute supremacy conferred on the board, it was enacted by a subsequent section (109); "that every power, authority, and function, by this or any other act or acts given to and vested in the said court of directors, shall be deemed and taken to be subject to such control of the said board of commissioners as in this act is mentioned, unless there shall be something in the enactments conferring such powers, authorities, or functions inconsistent with such construction, and except as to any patronage or right of appointing to office vested in, or reserved to, the said court."

A D 1833

Powers of
the Board
of Control

This exception in regard to patronage was now indeed the main inducement to the directors and proprietors to undertake the nominal government of India. Hitherto they had a direct interest. Their capital and dividends were at stake, and might have been endangered by any gross mismanagement; but by the provisions of the new act these were effectually secured, and henceforth neither the directors nor the proprietors ran any risk of pecuniary loss from negligence or error in the discharge of the duties intrusted to them. In their case, therefore, the government established was of a very anomalous description. Individuals, merely by investing money to a certain amount in India stock, purchased the privilege of voting for directors; and the directors sharing among them nearly the whole patronage of India, secured the continued possession of their seats, by dispensing it with a liberal hand among those who had voted, or were expected on some future occasion to vote for them. Whatever therefore may have been the theory of government now established, it was virtually the result of a compact by which the directors and their constituents agreed to submit to the dictation of the Board of Control, or in other words, of the ministry of the day, in consideration of the amount of patronage reserved to them. In all vacancies their power of appointment was absolute, except in regard to a few of the highest offices, which could not be filled up without the approbation of the crown; while even the persons thus approved, including the governor-general himself, held their offices only during the pleasure of the directors, who possessed to the same extent as the crown itself an absolute right of recall.

Great extent
of patron-
age

Having determined the nature and defined the powers of the home government, the act proceeds to settle the future government of India itself, and makes several important changes. The first of these, contained in section 38, divides Bengal into two presidencies, the one styled as before the presidency of Fort William in Bengal; and the other the presidency of Agra. Section 39

A D 1833

Sections of
the new bill
relative to
government
of India

enacts that "the superintendence, direction, and control of the whole civil and military government of all the said territories and revenues in India shall be, and is hereby vested in a governor-general and councillors, to be styled 'the Governor-general of India in Council.'" By section 40 the ordinary councillors are to be four—three of them appointed absolutely by the directors from actual or former servants who at the time of appointment shall have served at least ten years, and the fourth appointed also by the directors, but subject to the approbation of his majesty, and selected from persons not in the service of the Company. This fourth member was not "to sit or vote" in the council, except "at meetings thereof for making laws and regulations" The commander-in-chief in India, or if there be no such commander, or the office be conjoined with that of the governor-general, the commander-in-chief on the Bengal establishment, may be appointed by the directors an extraordinary member of council, and take rank next to the governor-general. Sections 43-52 are chiefly occupied in defining the powers of the council. Thus, it is enacted that the governor-general in council "shall have power to make laws and regulations for repealing, amending, or altering any laws or regulations whatever now in force, or hereafter to be in force, for the said territories, or any part thereof, and to make laws and regulations for all persons, whether British or native, foreigners or others, and for all courts of justice, whether established by his majesty's charters or otherwise, and the jurisdiction thereof, and for all places and things whatsoever within and throughout the whole and every part of the said territories, and for all servants of the said Company within the dominions of princes and states in alliance with the said Company." This apparently unlimited power is however restricted by a *salvo* against its being employed to make "any laws or regulations which shall in any way repeal, vary, suspend, or affect any of the provisions of this act, or any of the provisions of the acts for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers, whether in the service of his majesty or of the said Company, or any provisions of any act hereafter to be passed in any wise affecting the said Company, or the said territories or the inhabitants thereof, or any laws or regulations which shall in any way affect any prerogative of the crown, or the authority of parliament, or the constitution or rights of the said Company, or any part of the unwritten laws or constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, whereon may depend in any degree the allegiance of any person to the crown of the United Kingdom, or the sovereignty or dominion of the said crown over any of the said territories."

To make the above *salvo* still more explicit, it was provided by a subsequent section that nothing contained in the act "shall extend to affect in any way the right of parliament to make laws for the said territories, and for all the inhabitants thereof," and "expressly declared that a full, complete, and constantly existing right and power is intended to be reserved to parliament to control, supersede,

or prevent all proceedings and acts whatsoever of the said governor-general in council, and to repeal and alter at any time any law or regulation whatsoever made by the said governor-general in council, and in all respects to legislate for the said territories and all the inhabitants thereof in as full and ample a manner as if this act had not been passed; and the better to enable parliament to exercise at all times such right and power, all laws and regulations made by the said governor-general in council shall be transmitted to England," and laid annually before both Houses of Parliament. Still, though an absolute power of repeal was expressly reserved to the legislature, it was provided that "all laws and regulations made as aforesaid, so long as they shall remain unrepealed, shall be of the same force and effect within and throughout the said territories as any act of parliament would or ought to be within the same territories, in the same manner as any public act of parliament would and ought to be taken notice of."

A.D. 1833

Reserved
power of
parliament.

By section 48 the court of directors are enjoined forthwith to submit for the approbation of the Board of Control "such rules as they shall deem expedient for the procedure of the governor-general in council in the discharge and exercise of all powers, functions, and duties imposed on or vested in him by virtue of this act;" and such rules, when approved, "shall be of the same force as if they had been inserted in this act." In all ordinary cases the governor-general and one ordinary member of council were to constitute a quorum, but in making laws and regulations the governor-general and at least three ordinary members behoved to be present. In cases of equality the governor-general was to have a casting vote; and, should the majority happen to differ with him with regard to any measure whereby, in his judgment, "the safety, tranquillity, or interests of the British possessions in India or any part thereof" might be "essentially affected," he and the members of council were forthwith "mutually to exchange with and communicate to each other in writing, under their respective hands, to be recorded on their secret consultations, the grounds and reasons of their respective opinions." Should the governor-general, after considering the same, continue to differ, he might then, "of his own authority, and on his own responsibility," adopt the course which might seem to himself "fit and expedient." The council might assemble at any place within the British territories in India; but, should that place happen to be within any of the other presidencies, the governor of such presidency was to take his seat, and "act as an extraordinary member."

Powers of the
governor
general.

The 53d section, as one of the most important of the act, deserves to be quoted *verbatim*. "Whereas it is expedient that, subject to such special arrangements as local circumstances may require, a general system of judicial establishments and police, to which all persons whatsoever, as well Europeans as natives, may be subject, should be established in the said territories at an early period, and that such laws as may be applicable in common to all classes

A D 1833

Board of
Law commis-
sioners

of inhabitants of the said territories, due regard being had to the rights, feelings, and peculiar usages of the people, should be enacted, and that all laws and customs having the force of law within the same territories should be ascertained and consolidated, and, as occasion may require, amended: be it therefore enacted that the said Governor-general of India in council shall, as soon as conveniently may be after the passing of this act, issue a commission, and from time to time commissions, to such persons as the said court of directors, with the approbation of the said board of commissioners, shall recommend for that purpose, and to such persons, if necessary, as the said governor-general in council shall think fit, such persons not exceeding in the whole at any one time five in number, and to be styled, 'The Indian Law Commissioners,' with all such powers as shall be necessary for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, and the said commissioners shall fully inquire into the jurisdiction, powers, and rules of the existing courts of justice and police establishments in the said territories, and all existing forms of judicial procedure, and into the nature and operation of all laws, whether civil or criminal, written or customary, prevailing and in force in any part of the said territories, and whereto any inhabitants of the said territories, whether Europeans or others, are now subject; and the said commissioners shall from time to time make reports, in which they shall fully set forth the result of these said inquiries, and shall from time to time suggest such alterations as may in their opinion be beneficially made in the said courts of justice and police establishments, forms of judicial procedure and laws, due regard being had to the distinction of castes, difference of religion, and the manners and opinions prevailing among different races, and in different parts of the said territories." The above commissioners were to follow such instructions as should be given them from time to time by the governor-general in council, to make special reports, and receive salaries "according to the highest scale of remuneration given to any of the officers or servants of the India Company below the rank of members of council"

Executive
government
of the pre-
sencies.

By section 56 the executive government of each of the presidencies was to be administered by a governor and three councillors, the Governor-general of India for the time being acting as governor of the presidency of Fort William in Bengal; but the ultimate abolition of councils in the separate presidencies was contemplated, and it was therefore provided by section 57 "that it shall and may be lawful for the said court of directors, under such control as is by this act provided, to revoke and suspend, so often and for such periods as the said court shall in that behalf direct, the appointment of councils in all or any of the said presidencies, or to reduce the number of councillors in all or any of the said councils; and during such time as a council shall not be appointed in any such presidency, the executive government thereof shall be administered by a governor alone"

The only other sections of the act which seem to require special notice are

A.D. 1833

Residence of
EuropeansReligious
establish-
mentsA curious
dilemma.

the 81st and 82d, which specify those parts of India where "any natural born subjects of his majesty" may, and where they may not, reside without a license; the 85th, which, assuming that "the removal of restrictions on the intercourse of Europeans with the said territories will render it necessary to provide against any mischiefs or dangers that may arise therefrom, requires" the governor-general in council, "by laws or regulations, to provide with all convenient speed for the protection of the natives of the said territories from insult and outrage in their persons, religions, or opinions;" the 86th, which makes it "lawful for any natural born subject of his majesty authorized to reside in the said territories to acquire and hold lands, or any right, interest, or profit, in or out of lands, for any term of years, in such part or parts of the said territories as he shall be so authorized to reside in;" the 87th, which enacts "that no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of his majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company;" the 88th, which requires the governor-general in council "forthwith to take into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery, and of ameliorating the condition of slaves, and of extinguishing slavery throughout the said territories, so soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe;" and a series of sections which, after providing for the extension of the episcopal establishment by the erection of bishoprics at Madras and Bombay, and enacting that at each of the presidencies "two chaplains shall always be ministers of the Church of Scotland," conclude with declaring "that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent the governor-general in council from granting from time to time, with the sanction of the court of directors and of the commissioners for the affairs of India, to any sect, persuasion, or community of Christians, not being of the united Church of England and Ireland, or of the Church of Scotland, such sums of money as may be expedient for the purpose of instruction or for the maintenance of places of worship"

The last section provides that "this act shall commence and take effect from and after the passing thereof" (that is, from and after the 28th of August, 1833, when it received the royal assent), "so far as to authorize the appointment, or prospective or provisional appointment, of the Governor-general of India, governors, members of council, or other officers, under the provisions herein contained, and so far as hereinbefore in that behalf mentioned," but, "as to all other matters and things," it was only to commence and take effect from and after the 22d of April, 1834. In consequence of the different dates thus assigned for the commencement of the act, and some other unexpected coincidences, a curious dilemma was produced. By the 41st section it is enacted "that the person who shall be governor-general of the presidency of Fort William in Bengal, on the 22d day of April, 1834, shall be the first Governor-general of

A D. 1833

Commissions
issued by
court of
directors

India under this act, and such persons as shall be members of council of the same presidency on that day shall be respectively members of council constituted by this act." In virtue of this section Lord William Bentinck was governor-general, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, and Messrs. William Blunt and Alexander Ross were members of the first council of India. But the court of directors, taking advantage of the earlier date assigned for the commencement of the act, had, on the 27th of December, 1833, issued two commissions—the one appointing Lord William Bentinck to take upon himself the office of governor-general upon and from the 22d of April, 1834, and William Blunt, Alexander Ross, William Byam Martin, and Thomas Babington Macaulay, Esquires, "to be respectively the first, second, third, and fourth ordinary members of the said council;" and the other appointing Sir Charles Metcalfe to be governor of the presidency of Agra upon and from the said 22d of April. When the campaign against Coorg was opened the governor-general, who had gone to Madras to superintend different financial arrangements then in progress, repaired to Bangalore, and after the campaign was finished he took up his residence in the Neilgherry Hills for the recovery of his health, which had become so seriously affected that he had intimated his resignation to the directors. He was thus



OOTACAMUND.—From Captain Penock's Views in the Neilgherries.

Council at
Ootacamund

living at Ootacamund, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, as senior member of council, was acting as vice-president and deputy-governor of Bengal, at the time when the new act came into operation. This was unfortunate, because certain important steps had in consequence of the change of government become absolutely necessary, and yet it was difficult to perceive how these steps could be taken while the governor-general remained isolated among the Neilgherry Hills, and in a state of health which would not allow him to return to Calcutta. The course adopted was to summon the first council under the act to meet at Ootacamund. This was perfectly legal, since, as has been shown in the above analysis of the act, the governor-general was empowered to assemble the council at any

A D. 1834.

place within the British Indian territories, and, except in the case of making laws and regulations, required the assistance of only one ordinary member to constitute a quorum. Such a member was opportunely found in Mr. Macaulay, who, having been made aware that his presence was required, arrived at Ootacamund. Sir Frederick Adam, governor of Madras, arrived also about the same time, and in terms of an express provision in the act, took his seat in the council as an extraordinary member. The first act of the council was to issue a proclamation on the 16th of June, 1834, announcing the passing of the act, and the installation of the new form of government prescribed by it. Rather strangely, however, the governor-general in council, instead of carrying out the provisions of the act, ventured to place some of the most important of them in abeyance. Hence part of the proclamation proceeded in the following extraordinary terms: "Whereas it is impracticable to carry into immediate execution all the preliminary measures that shall be necessary before the duties of the government of Agra can be entered upon, or to adopt, without previous inquiry and mature deliberation, the different official and legislative proceedings which the separation of the two governments require; and whereas, for the aforesaid reasons, it is not expedient that the Honourable Sir Charles Metcalfe should assume the government of Agra before the return of the governor-general and council to Calcutta, the governor-general in council, therefore, has been pleased to resolve, and it is hereby notified accordingly, that the administration of the presidency of Bengal, as heretofore constituted, shall in the meantime continue to be carried on by the honourable the vice-president in council."



LOED MACAULAY.
From a photograph by Maul and Polyblank.

Proceedings
of council
held at Oo-
tacamund.

Sir Charles Metcalfe had, in consequence of his appointment as governor of Agra, ceased to be a member of the council, and that council itself, as formerly constituted, had been entirely abrogated, and yet the proclamation, with a singular mixture of simplicity and boldness, ignores both facts, and merely because the governor-general has been so "pleased to resolve," notifies accordingly, "that the administration of the presidency of Bengal as heretofore constituted" shall, in the meantime, continue to be carried on. The illegality of these proceedings is so palpable that it could not possibly have escaped the notice either of Lord William Bentinck, or his distinguished coadjutor, the late Lord Macaulay. Sir Charles Metcalfe, only ten days after the date

Operations
of an act of
parliament
illegally
postponed.

A D 1824

Remarks
of Sir C
Metcalf on
proceedings
of governor-
general

of the proclamation, writing his friend Mr. Tucker, then chairman of the court of directors, says, "You know, I conclude, our present position. The governor-general would endanger his life were he to quit the Neilgherry Hills before September, as he proposes, or as I should say, before October. He has, therefore, from necessity, summoned the council on the hills. He has also suspended the formation of the Agra government, and the application of the new act to Bengal. I am to remain vice-president here until his return. I fear that several things in this arrangement are illegal." At the same time he makes the best excuse which could be offered for it when he adds, "His lordship's detention in the hills is quite unavoidable. He nearly lost his life in his last attack, and every medical man predicted the most fatal consequences if he should attempt to encounter the heat of the plains at this season. He is now quite well where he is, but dare not move." Under these circumstances some such arrangement as that actually made seems to have been absolutely necessary to prevent the mischiefs which must have ensued from leaving the seat of government without a regular administration. But no necessity, however great, could cure the illegality of superseding or postponing the operation of an act of parliament.

Mode of
remedying
illegality of
governor-
general's
proceedings

When the governor-general returned to Calcutta, on the 14th of November, 1834, one of the first subjects which engaged his attention was the Ootacamund proclamation, and he endeavoured to legalize all that had been done under it by an exercise of his legislative power. Accordingly, on the 20th of November, the following act was passed, "Be it enacted that all acts done by the Governor-general of India in council, or by the vice-president of Fort William in Bengal in council, or in pursuance of any authority given by the said governor-general in council, or by the said vice-president in council, between the 22d of April, 1834, and the 14th of November, 1834, shall be valid and effectual to all intents and purposes, as if the said acts had been done before the said 22d day of April, 1834." It is almost needless to observe that the passing of this act, so far from curing the illegality, was only a repetition of it. The governor-general in council unintentionally, or from some real or supposed necessity, had violated the law, and nothing short of the authority of the legislature itself could save him, and those who had acted with and under him, from the penal consequences, or give validity to their proceedings. The only effectual remedy, therefore, was at length provided when, on the 13th of April, 1835, the Act 5 and 6 Wm. IV. c. 6 was passed, which, after reciting the recent Act 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 85, and explaining the circumstances under which the government of India "was administered for a time, otherwise than in accordance with the said recited act," indemnifies all the persons directly or indirectly implicated for all "acts, matters, and things" that had been "done, ordered, directed or authorized, *bona fide*, in the exercise of the administration of the British territories in the East Indies," between the 22d of April, 1834, and the 1st of January, 1835, and declares

that "all such acts, matters, and things shall be as valid and effectual, and shall be, and be deemed to be, of as much force, validity, and effect as if they had been expressly authorized by the said recited act."

A D 1835

In regard to the new presidency of Agra, which had been provided for by the act, it may here be mentioned that, though on the very day of the return of the governor-general to Calcutta from the Neilgherry Hills, it was formally notified that Sir Charles Metcalfe "had taken the prescribed oaths and assumed charge of the government of Agra," the plan of this fourth government, which the directors had always objected to as involving a large unnecessary expenditure, was never fully carried out. After its duties had been so restricted and flittered away that it had become a mere misnomer to call it a "government," an act was passed, on the 31st of August, 1835, making it lawful for the court of directors, under the control of the board of commissioners, "to suspend the execution of the provisions" of the Act 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 85 so far as relates to the division of the presidency of Fort William in Bengal, into two distinct presidencies, one of which was to be styled the presidency of Agra, and enacting that so long as the execution of these provisions shall remain suspended, the governor-general in council may "appoint, from time to time, any servant of the East India Company, who shall have been ten years in their service in India, to the office of lieutenant-governor of the North-western provinces, now under the presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and from time to time to declare and limit the extent of the territories so placed under such lieutenant-governor, and the extent of the authority to be exercised by such lieutenant-governor, as to the said governor-general in council may seem fit." This permission to suspend was so completely in accordance with the views of the directors, that they immediately availed themselves of it, and all idea of erecting a separate presidency of Agra was abandoned.

New presi-
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After the return of Lord William Bentinck to Calcutta, no event of any importance occurred till his administration closed. He had intimated his resignation, and only waited the return of the sailing season to take his departure. On the 20th of March, 1835, he ceased to be governor-general, and set sail for Europe. His government had been eminently peaceful, and its merits consequently are founded not on new acquisitions of territory, or brilliant military achievements, but on the more solid ground of internal improvement—on reductions of expenditure, the correction of abuses, the extension of the means of education, the more adequate administration of justice by the liberal employment of native agency; and above all, the bold and successful inroad made on superstition by the suppression of one of its most abominable practices. In all these respects Lord William Bentinck proved himself an able, liberal, and conscientious administrator. The great defect of his policy was, as we have seen, the absurd extent to which he attempted to carry the system of non-interference. By standing aloof when disorder commenced, he too often allowed it to increase

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Myrtana—the Temple and Bathing Ghats.—from a drawing by T. Longcroft, Esq

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BOOK VIII.

FROM THE EXTINCTION OF THE TRADE OF THE COMPANY TO
THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE GREAT SEPOY MUTINY.

CHAPTER I.

Sir Charles Metcalfe provisional governor general—He removes the restrictions on the Indian press—
Opposite views of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control in regard to the appointment of
a successor to Lord William Bentinck—Lord Heytesbury's appointment revoked by the crown—
Lord Auckland becomes governor general—A new succession in Oude—Intrigues and
deposition of the Rajah of Sattarah.



AFTER the departure of Lord William Bentinck, Sir Charles Metcalfe became governor-general, in virtue of a provisional appointment. By this appointment, the full powers of the office were undoubtedly conferred upon him; but as his tenure was precarious and temporary, it seems to have been expected, not unreasonably, that he would continue to carry on the government according to its ordinary routine, and not innovate, without absolute necessity, on the policy which had been previously pursued. He himself judged differently, and in April, within a month after his installation, had prepared the draft of an act by which all the restrictions to which the Indian press was previously subject, were to be repealed. The act itself, however, was not passed and promulgated till the following September. It does not appear whether there was any difference of opinion in the council on the subject, but if there was, there can be no doubt that Mr. Macaulay was one of the majority. In substance, the act simply repealed the press regulations of 1823 in the Bengal, and of 1825 and 1827 in the Bombay presidency, and ordained that every person having a printing press on his premises was to make declaration thereof; that every book or paper was thenceforth to bear the name of the printer and publisher; and that, within the Company's territories, the printer and publisher of all periodical works containing public news, or comments on public news, should appear, and declare when it was to be printed or published. The soundness of the repeal, in so far as regarded the European press, could hardly be questioned; but as it seemed impossible to give freedom to the European, without extending it to the native press, some of the ablest servants of the Company entertained grave doubts as to the right course of procedure.

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Freedoms of
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The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, when consulted on the subject in 1832, had written as follows:—"If all be free, we shall be in a predicament such as no state has yet experienced. In other countries the use of the press has gradually extended along with the improvement of the government and the intelligence of the people; but we shall have to contend at once with the most refined theories of Europe, and with the prejudices and fanaticism of Asia, both rendered doubly formidable by the imperfect education of those to whom every appeal will be addressed" Sir Charles Metcalfe attached little weight to this peculiarity, and in an elaborate reply to an address presented to him, declared the repeal justifiable on general principles. At the same time he thought that it had become "almost unavoidable" from circumstances. "The (Indian) press," he said, "had been practically free for many years, including the whole period of the administration of the late governor-general, Lord William Bentinck,



RIGHT HON CHARLES T. BARON METCALFE, G C B
After a picture by F. R. Sey

and although laws of restriction existed in Bengal which gave awful power to the government, they had ceased to operate for any practical purpose. They were extremely odious. They gave to the government arbitrary power, which British subjects in any part of the world detest. No government could now have carried them into effect, without setting universal opinion at defiance. After the liberty given by Lord William Bentinck's forbearance, no government could have ventured to enforce those laws, unless it had been gifted with a most hardy insensibility to ridicule and obloquy.

Even supposing them to be good, they were utterly useless, and as they brought unnecessary odium on the government, it would have been absurd longer to retain them "

So long as he argued on general principles, Sir Charles Metcalfe was certainly right, but his logic fails him when he seeks a justification in circumstances. The press regulations, he says, were practically obsolete. They were not and they could not be enforced. If so, where was the necessity for hastening to repeal them? They were virtually dead, and there could be no use to slay the slain. If, as he argues, "even supposing them to be good, they were utterly useless, because they could not be enforced," is it not obvious that for the very same reason they must have ceased to be mischievous, and that therefore a governor-general only provisionally appointed, and of course daily expected to be superseded, had no particular call to interfere. If the repeal would have been approved by his successor, why step in before him and thus snatch from him the

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popularity which was to be acquired by adopting it? and if, on the contrary, the repeal would have been condemned by his successor, why place him in a false position, and embarrass him with an innovation that might be at variance with the general tenor of his policy? On these and similar grounds, the propriety of the conduct of Sir Charles Metcalfe in hastening to repeal the existing restrictions on the press may be questioned, and it is thus easy to understand how the measure was received in different quarters with very different feelings. Those whom it freed from all fear of restraint naturally hailed it with acclamation, while the public generally regarded it with favour, and testified their approbation, not merely by laudatory addresses, but by the erection of a handsome public building devoted to literary purposes, and designated the Metcalfe Hall, in order at once to celebrate the liberation of the press and perpetuate the name of the liberator. When the measure was first announced to the home authorities, it was as strongly condemned as it had been elsewhere applauded, and called forth a censure, which though not accompanied by an immediate withdrawal of confidence, laid the foundation of a serious misunderstanding. The directors, become as lukewarm as they had formerly been zealous in supporting Sir Charles Metcalfe, overlooked the prior claim which he had undoubtedly established to the first vacant governorship in their gift, and when he applied for explanation, returned through their secretary an answer so dry and laconic, that on the very day when he received it, he despatched a letter intimating his determination to retire from the service of the Company. He accordingly sailed for England on the 13th of February, 1838. The extent of the loss which India sustained by his departure was not fully known till after. As he had always been opposed to the policy which led to the disastrous war in Afghanistan, there is reason to presume that had he remained, as his influence would doubtless have been employed, so also it might have sufficed to prevent it. His services however were not lost to his country. As governor successively of Jamaica and of Canada in the most critical periods of their history, he gave new proofs of consummate statesmanship. Public gratitude was not wanting, but the peerage conferred upon him came too late to be anything more than a barren title. An excruciating disease was preying upon him, and he returned home only to die.

A D. 1835

Emancipation of the press.

Lord Metcalfe's abilities as a statesman

In narrating the emancipation of the Indian press, and tracing some of its consequences in the subsequent career of Lord Metcalfe, we were obliged to pass onward without referring to a series of transactions which took place about the same time in England, and which, while not properly belonging to the history of India, are too important to be omitted. When the court of directors received intimation of Lord William Bentinck's intended resignation, it was proposed to put either the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone or Sir Charles Metcalfe in nomination for the office of governor-general. Mr. Elphinstone, on the plea of indifferent health, declined, and the court, on the 28th of September, 1834, by a

Question as to Lord William Bentinck's successor

popularity which was to be acquired by adopting it? and if, on the contrary, the repeal would have been condemned by his successor, why place him in a false position, and embarrass him with an innovation that might be at variance with the general tenor of his policy? On these and similar grounds, the propriety of the conduct of Sir Charles Metcalfe in hastening to repeal the existing restrictions on the press may be questioned, and it is thus easy to understand how the measure was received in different quarters with very different feelings. Those whom it freed from all fear of restraint naturally hailed it with acclamation, while the public generally regarded it with favour, and testified their approbation, not merely by laudatory addresses, but by the erection of a handsome public building devoted to literary purposes, and designated the Metcalfe Hall, in order at once to celebrate the liberation of the press and perpetuate the name of the liberator. When the measure was first announced to the home authorities, it was as strongly condemned as it had been elsewhere applauded, and called forth a censure, which though not accompanied by an immediate withdrawal of confidence, laid the foundation of a serious misunderstanding. The directors, become as lukewarm as they had formerly been zealous in supporting Sir Charles Metcalfe, overlooked the prior claim which he had undoubtedly established to the first vacant governorship in their gift, and when he applied for explanation, returned through their secretary an answer so dry and laconic, that on the very day when he received it, he despatched a letter intimating his determination to retire from the service of the Company. He accordingly sailed for England on the 13th of February, 1838. The extent of the loss which India sustained by his departure was not fully known till after. As he had always been opposed to the policy which led to the disastrous war in Afghanistan, there is reason to presume that had he remained, as his influence would doubtless have been employed, so also it might have sufficed to prevent it. His services however were not lost to his country. As governor successively of Jamaica and of Canada in the most critical periods of their history, he gave new proofs of consummate statesmanship. Public gratitude was not wanting, but the peerage conferred upon him came too late to be anything more than a barren title. An excruciating disease was preying upon him, and he returned home only to die.

A D. 1835

Emancipation of the press.

Lord Metcalfe's abilities as a statesman

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Question as to Lord William Bentinck's successor

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majority of fifteen to two, adopted the two following resolutions:—"1. That this court deeply lament that the state of Lord William Bentinck's health should be such as to deprive the Company of his most valuable services, and this court deem it proper to record, on the occasion of his lordship's resignation of the office of governor-general, their high sense of the distinguished ability, energy, zeal, and integrity with which his lordship has discharged the arduous duties of his exalted station. 2 That referring to the appointment which has been conferred by the court, with the approbation of his majesty, on Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, provisionally, to act as Governor-general of India, upon the death, resignation, or coming away of Lord William Bentinck; and adverting also to the public character and services of Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose knowledge, experience, and talents eminently qualify him to prosecute successfully the various important measures consequent on the new charter act, this court are of opinion that it would be inexpedient at present to make any other arrangement for supplying the office of governor-general. And it is resolved accordingly that the chairs be authorized and instructed to communicate this opinion to his majesty's ministers, through the president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India."

Government
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When the communication thus ordered was made, Mr. Charles Grant, who held the office of president of the Board of Control in the Melbourne ministry, not only refused to concur in the second resolution of the directors, but proceeded to give his reasons in the following terms: "With respect to the appointment to that office of any servant of the Company, however eminent his knowledge, talents, and experience may confessedly be, his majesty's ministers agree in the sentiments of Mr. Canning, expressed in a letter from him to the court, on the 25th of December, 1820, that the case can hardly be conceived in which it would be expedient that the *highest* office of the government in India should be filled otherwise than from England, and that that one main link at least between the systems of the Indian and the British governments ought, for the advantage of both, to be invariably maintained. On this principle it has usually been thought proper to act; and in the various important measures consequent on the new charter act, his majesty's ministers see much to enjoin the continuance of the general practice, but nothing to recommend a deviation from it."

Grounds of
objection.

The objection to the appointment of any servant of the Company to the office of governor-general, though here ascribed to Mr. Canning, was of an earlier date, and was first made by Lord Cornwallis. He did not, however, talk rhetorically like Mr. Canning of the necessity of maintaining a "main link," but distinctly placed his objection on the ground, that during the period of his first government it would scarcely have been possible to find any old and eminent servant of the Company, who had not in some period of his career practised or connived at the abuses and corruptions, which it would be one of his first duties as governor-general to suppress. If Lord Cornwallis was justifi-

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Mr. Grant in his letter had adverted to the disadvantages of a temporary appointment, and urged the necessity of forthwith appointing in regular form. The directors in their answer admitted the superiority of a permanent appointment, and declared their conviction that Sir Charles Metcalfe was a fit person to receive it. It was therefore "with deep regret" they had learned that he was considered by his majesty's government "to be ineligible to the station of governor-general, and upon grounds which would exclude the whole service of India from that high office." After referring in refutation of Mr. Canning's maxim to "the whole course of our transactions in British India," as "furnishing the most conclusive evidence that the servants of the Company, both civil and military, are eminently qualified for the highest public trust, and that the important office of governor-general has been held by several of them with the utmost advantage to the national interests," they concluded with intimating that the arrangements for filling up the office of governor-general would be taken into consideration at "the proper time." In strict law Lord William Bentinck had not resigned, but only intimated his intention to resign, and the directors were not unwilling to procure delay by taking advantage of a legal quibble. The design was transparent. The ministry was tottering, and the effect of the delay would probably be to allow the appointment to be made under the auspices of another political party. But the very circumstance which

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The directors having thus gained their point were no longer disposed to quibble for delay, and soon came to an understanding with Lord Ellenborough, who had become president of the Board of Control. With his lordship's concurrence they offered the office of governor-general to the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone. By this offer the stigma supposed to have been fixed on the servants of the Company by Mr. Canning's dictum was removed. This, however, was all that was gained by the court or sacrificed by the board. It was well known to both that Mr. Elphinstone, having already declined the appointment, would in all probability decline it again, and it is therefore difficult to allow Lord Ellenborough all the credit which he claims for having outdone the Whigs in liberality by offering the appointment of governor-general to one of the most distinguished servants of the Company. A better proof of liberality, and of an enlightened use of patronage, might have been given by offering the appointment, not to Mr. Elphinstone, who, it might have been presumed, would decline, but to Sir Charles Metcalfe, who would certainly have been proud to accept of it, and to whose distinguished services it would, in the judgment of the directors themselves, have been an appropriate reward. He had, as we have seen, been proposed for the office, and rejected for a reason not more applicable to him than to Mr. Elphinstone. Surely, if Lord Ellenborough really meant to do the liberal thing for which he has since claimed credit, his choice must have fallen on Sir Charles Metcalfe. So far from this, he only waited for Mr. Elphinstone's declinature when he hastened to procure the appointment of governor-general for Lord Heytesbury, who certainly possessed Mr. Canning's qualification in perfection, as he had never served the Company and knew nothing of Indian affairs. So little, indeed, was Lord Ellenborough disposed to recognize the claims of eminent service in India, that had he been left to follow his own course, he would have conferred the provisional appointment of governor-general on Sir Henry Fane, the newly appointed commander-in-chief, who had no qualification but that of being a good soldier, and refused it to Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose qualifications were universally recognized. This piece of folly Lord Ellenborough was not allowed to commit, and Sir Charles once more obtained the provisional appointment.

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Lord Heytesbury's appointment cancelled

Everything seemed now to be settled. Lord Heytesbury had been sworn into office, had provided his outfit, taken out his passage, and completed all preliminary arrangements, but had not actually sailed, when the Peel ministry, who had endeavoured without success to strengthen themselves by a dissolution of parliament, were compelled to resign. The Whigs having resumed office under Lord Melbourne as premier, saw the appointment of governor-general, of which they had formerly been balked, once more in their power, and were not to be restrained by any feelings of delicacy from seizing it. Lord Heytesbury immediately received a communication from the new government desiring him to postpone his departure. Three days later he was distinctly informed that ministers had resolved to advise the crown to revoke his appointment. The propriety of this proceeding was keenly canvassed. The directors, conceiving that its tendency was to hold up the office of governor-general as a prize to be contended for by political parties, presented a strong remonstrance, while the opposition brought the subject under the notice of both Houses of Parliament, and denounced the revocation as grasping and unconstitutional. Ministers attempted to justify themselves by drawing a distinction between an appointment which was only about to be, and one which had actually been carried into effect. In the latter case they would not have interfered, but in the former, though there might be inconveniences in the cancelling of the appointment, they were not nearly so serious as those which would inevitably be produced by the want of confidence and cordiality between the Indian and the home government. Another reason for revoking the appointment, though it probably weighed more than all the others, was not mentioned. The vacancy had occurred while the Whigs were in office, and would have been supplied by them had not the directors prevented it by interposing a quibbling delay. The Tories had thus by a kind of trick obtained a valuable patronage which did not properly belong to them, and could hardly complain either of injustice or indelicacy, when it was once more taken out of their hands, and restored to the rightful owners.

The office of governor-general having thus again become vacant, some difficulty appears to have been felt in making the new appointment. Mr. Grant, now Lord Glenelg, having become colonial secretary, and been succeeded as president of the Board of Control by Sir John Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton, might be considered as removed from the field, and as there was no other individual whose claims gave him a decided preference, some difficulty was felt. The consequence was that the same political party who had formerly insisted on an immediate appointment were now in favour of delay. The president of the board accordingly proposed to wait the arrival of Lord William Bentinck before appointing his successor, and engaged not to take any advantage of the failure of the directors to fill up the vacancy within the two months allowed them by statute. In the meantime the names of various individuals

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RIGHT HON. GEORGE, EARL OF AUCKLAND, G.C.B.
After a portrait by L. Dickinson

this last feature in his character it was anticipated that he would do nothing rashly, and be able at least to avoid any serious blunder.

Lord Auckland arrived at Calcutta on the 3d of March, 1836, and immediately entered on the duties of his office. The whole country was tranquil, and there seemed reason to hope that he would be allowed, like Lord William Bentinck, to devote himself to the work of internal improvement. The recent charter act indeed had not left him in any doubt as to the measures which ought first to engage his attention, and had in particular declared it expedient that "a general system of judicial establishments and police, to which all

persons whatsoever, as well Europeans as natives, may be subject, should be established in the said territories at an early period, and that such laws as may be applicable in common to all classes of the inhabitants of the said territories, due regard being had to the rights, feelings, and peculiar usages of the people, should be enacted, and that all laws and customs having the force of law within the same territories should be ascertained and consolidated, and as occasion may require, amended." While the great work of legal reform was brought prominently under the notice of the Indian government, provision had been made for its accomplishment by the appointment of a fourth member of council, usually designated the legislative member, to indicate the particular department in which he was expected to labour, and the establishment of a law commission, whose reports made from time to time were to furnish the grounds or materials for improved legislation. Thus instructed and provided with the necessary means, the governor-general was no sooner installed than the work of legislation was commenced. On the 28th of March, 1836, additional extent and import-

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ance was given to the employment of uncovenanted judges by an enactment that "no person whatever shall by reason of place of birth, or by reason of descent, be incapable of being a *principal sudder ameen*, *sudder ameen*, or *moonsif*, within the territories subject to the presidency of Fort William in Bengal." Originally the *sudder ameen* and the *moonsif* were the only classes of native judges, and had a very limited jurisdiction. Gradually the powers of both were extended, and in 1827 the *sudder ameen*, the superior of the two, was empowered to try suits to the amount of 1000 rupees. The necessities of the case were still imperfectly met, and an important improvement was made by Lord William Bentinck in 1831, by the institution of a third and higher class of judges called *principal sudder ameens*, whose jurisdiction, at first restricted, was afterwards extended to cases involving property to any amount. Under the above enactment, all barriers to the attainment of a judgeship in any of the three classes were broken down, and it was declared that no kind of descent, native, European, or mixed, should henceforth operate as an exclusion. This first step, as to the propriety of which there could be no doubt, was soon followed by another, which, from the opposition which it encountered, acquired some degree of historical importance.

A D 1836.

Employment of native judges

On the 9th of May, 1836, the governor-general in council enacted that from the 1st of June following, the 107th clause of Act 53 Geo. III. c. 155, "shall cease to have effect within the territories of the East India Company," and that "from the said day, and within the said territories, no person whatever shall by reason of place of birth, or by reason of descent, be in any civil proceeding whatever excepted from the jurisdiction" of the courts of *sudder dewanny adawlut*, of the *zillah* and city judges, of the *principal sudder ameens*, in the presidency of Fort William, or of the similar courts of the other presidencies. For explanation it is necessary to mention that by the above 107th section British subjects, at the distance of more than ten miles from the presidencies, were generally subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary civil courts, but instead of appealing to the *sudder dewanny adawlut*, or other courts exercising the highest appellate jurisdiction, it was competent for them, as defenders, to appeal to the supreme court of the presidency in which they were sued. The effect of the above enactment of the governor-general in council, therefore, was to deprive British born subjects of a privilege, real or supposed, which they previously possessed, and place them as defenders in the *mofussil* courts on the very same footing as the natives of India.

Jurisdiction of courts over British residents

There cannot be a doubt that the appeal to the supreme court, given to British subjects only and denied to natives, was one of those invidious distinctions which was struck at by the late charter act, and to the removal of which the legislative council were specially required to direct their attention. It had accordingly, in 1835, while Sir Charles Metcalfe was provisional governor-general, been carefully considered, and Mr. Macaulay as president, as well

ance was given to the employment of uncovenanted judges by an enactment that "no person whatever shall by reason of place of birth, or by reason of descent, be incapable of being a *principal sudder ameen*, *sudder ameen*, or *moonsif*, within the territories subject to the presidency of Fort William in Bengal." Originally the *sudder ameen* and the *moonsif* were the only classes of native judges, and had a very limited jurisdiction. Gradually the powers of both were extended, and in 1827 the *sudder ameen*, the superior of the two, was empowered to try suits to the amount of 1000 rupees. The necessities of the case were still imperfectly met, and an important improvement was made by Lord William Bentinck in 1831, by the institution of a third and higher class of judges called *principal sudder ameens*, whose jurisdiction, at first restricted, was afterwards extended to cases involving property to any amount. Under the above enactment, all barriers to the attainment of a judgeship in any of the three classes were broken down, and it was declared that no kind of descent, native, European, or mixed, should henceforth operate as an exclusion. This first step, as to the propriety of which there could be no doubt, was soon followed by another, which, from the opposition which it encountered, acquired some degree of historical importance.

A D 1836.

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as the other members of the law commission, had in minutes expressed a decided opinion that the appeal from the provincial to the supreme court ought to be abolished. Such was the state of matters when Lord Auckland arrived, and hence his lordship, in a minute on the subject, thus expressed himself, "I may say that I have not had the same personal share in this measure as in others which have for the first time been brought under discussion since I took my seat in the government. I found, on my arrival, that this act had already been some weeks before the public; my predecessor had cordially approved of it; the council was unanimous in its favour; the governors and councils of Madras and Bombay wished for its extension to their presidencies." It might have been supposed that a measure which had thus united all the leading authorities in its favour would not be violently opposed anywhere. It proved otherwise. Not in the provincial districts, where alone the new enactment was to operate, but in Calcutta, where not an individual was to be affected by it, an agitation was got up, a public meeting was held, at which the speakers denounced the measure as a violent and illegal encroachment on their rights as British subjects, and different memorials were presented to the governor-general in council, praying that the enactment should be rescinded.

Memorial by
objectors

In order to understand the nature of the objections taken by the memorialists, the following passages from their first memorial may be quoted: "That by the wise and considerate provisions of the supreme legislature of Great Britain, the due administration of justice is secured to the Mahometan and the Hindoo, according to the different codes they severally recognize; and your memorialists venture to hope that, if trial by Hindoo law be secured to the Hindoo, by the Mahometan law to the Mussulman, your memorialists are not asking too much if they require in their own case an appeal from Hindoo or Mussulman law, or the law of the honourable Company's regulations, to the laws of their country, a right already recognized and confirmed by act of parliament." Again, "That the proposed rescision of the 107th sec. of the Stat. 53 Geo. III. c. 155, being made without any restriction or qualification whatever, it will necessarily follow that suits or actions, or criminal trials wherein British born subjects are plaintiffs and defendants, will be tried by laws to which they are total strangers; that the whole proceeding will be in a language to them unknown, and but partially known to these judges themselves, entailing, from construction of the country courts, the certain occurrence of enormous bribery, and the most corrupt proceedings, and exhibiting the unprecedented anomaly of an English judge trying a suit in British territory, between English subjects, in a language unintelligible to the suitors, and but imperfectly understood by the judge, and such trial to be decided according to laws to which Englishmen are strangers, with appeal only to a higher court of the same character."

Had these objections to the enactment been well founded, they would have justified all the clamour raised against it, and proved it deserving of the title

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of "the Black Act" usually applied to it by its opponents; but the truth is, that the objections were founded on a gross misrepresentation of the purpose and tendency of the measure—a misrepresentation so gross that it must to some extent have been wilful. The memorialists complain of the injury which the enactment would inflict on them in "criminal trials," and in suits in which they might be "plaintiffs," though it refers exclusively to civil suits and to suits in which they were only defendants. They speak, moreover, as if the appeal of which they were deprived was an appeal from Hindoo or Mahometan law, or the law of the Company's regulations, to the law of England, whereas, as the government justly remarked in the answer returned to the memorial—"You are mistaken in supposing that you ever possessed such an appeal. A judicial appeal is, by its own nature, an appeal, not from one law to another law, but from one tribunal to another tribunal. In every case which the Hindoo law, the Mahometan law, or the law of the Company's regulations is binding on the mofussil judge, the Hindoo law, the Mahometan law, or the law of the regulations is equally binding on the supreme court in its character of a court of appeal." This answer completely disposes of the objections of the memorialists; but, as it had no effect in diminishing their clamour, we are almost driven to the explanation unhesitatingly adopted by Mr. Macaulay, and thus broadly asserted by him:—"It may at first sight appear strange that a law which is not unwelcome to those who are to live under it, should excite such acrimonious feelings among people who are wholly exempted from its operation; but the explanation is simple. Though nobody will be sued in the mofussil courts, many people who reside at Calcutta have or wish to have practice in the supreme court. These appeals, indeed, have hitherto yielded but a very scanty harvest of fees; but hopes are entertained, and have indeed been publicly expressed that, as the number of British settlers in the mofussil increases, the number of appeals will increase also." In another minute he speaks still more plainly—"A small knot of people in Calcutta, a knot of people who are not to live under this law, who know nothing about the administration of justice in the mofussil, and who are interested in the question only as practitioners or officers in the supreme court, have kept up an incessant clamour against the government, and have done their best to conceal the smallness of their numbers and the weakness of their cause by the violence of their invectives and the audacity of their assertions." The governor-general took the very same view, and gave utterance to it, though in somewhat softer terms, when he wrote, "The change introduced is small indeed, for appeals to the supreme court have been so rare that section 107, 53 Geo. III. may be said to have been absolutely inoperative. Yet an unmeasured opposition to this act has been raised, prompted, it is impossible not to see, chiefly by persons interested in upholding the supreme court," an opposition, he adds, "which has derived support from some others who would resist every step towards equality between

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The memorialists, however, had not yet exhausted their opposition With a resolution and perseverance which would have been praiseworthy in a better cause, they carried their complaint to England, and raised a fund which enabled them to send it by the hands of one of their own number, who, after heading the agitation, had consented to become its hired advocate. Petitions were accordingly presented, not only to the Board of Control and court of directors, but also to parliament. From the former the answer received was—"That they have not seen any reasons for withholding their sanction from the enactment complained of, and that a despatch communicating such sanction has, with their approbation, been addressed to the supreme government by the court of directors" In the House of Commons the subject, though not more than seventy members met to discuss it, was formally considered on the 22d of March, 1836, and gave rise to a spirited debate Mr. Ward, the member for Sheffield, who had undertaken to plead the cause of the petitioners, concluded a long speech by moving for a select committee to inquire into their allegations, and "to report to the house in what manner and to what extent the act of the legislative council of India of 1836, No. xi, affected the constitutional rights of British born subjects in India, the prerogatives of the crown, and the general interests of the United Kingdom." The hired advocate from India had evidently done his best to cram Mr Ward with all the allegations and misrepresentations which had furnished the staple of his own agitation in Calcutta, but it was in vain. The case completely broke down, and the clamour which it had raised became absolutely ludicrous, when Sir John Hobhouse made the undeniable statement that this right of appeal, which the petitioners had represented as the palladium of their liberties, had been only twice resorted to during the whole period of twenty years, from 1813 to 1833, and that in both cases the judges of the supreme court, unable to come to a decision, "were obliged to go to the judges of the sudder dewanny adawlut to interpret the law and give an answer to the appeal." Mr. Ward, seeing it hopeless to persevere in the face of such a statement, withdrew his motion for a select committee, and allowed Sir John Hobhouse to set the question at rest by simply moving "that the minutes of council on which was founded the legislative act (No. xi) of 1836 be printed."

At the very time when the Calcutta agitators made their last effort, and sustained a signal parliamentary defeat, Mr. Macaulay, against whom their vituperation had been specially directed, resigned his seat in the council of India, and took his departure for England. By a singular provision of the new charter act, the legislative member was not permitted to vote, except in the making of laws and regulations, and thus, while he was excluded from the

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ordinary administration of the government, he was expected to devote all his energies to the formation of a code which might be enforced, with slight modifications, throughout the whole length and breadth of British India. Mr. Macaulay must soon have perceived that the task which had been assigned to him and the law commission was far beyond their powers, and he must consequently have toiled on for years under the disheartening conviction, that whatever fame he had already acquired, or might be destined still to acquire in other fields of labour, he must forego the idea of descending to posterity as a great Indian legislator. His penal code, indeed, made some approach to completeness, but it was impossible to adopt it as a whole, and the utmost that can be said in its praise is, that it contains many valuable suggestions, which those who succeeded him were able to turn to good account.

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Lord
Macaulay's
labours in
India

In the midst of the discussions occasioned by the enactment of the government on the subject of appeals to the supreme court, important intelligence arrived from Oude. The king, Nasir-ud-din Hyder, after an illness which was not thought serious, had died suddenly on the night of the 7th of July, 1837, and an attempt to place a spurious successor on the throne had not been defeated without bloodshed. Nasir-ud-din left no children. At one time he had acknowledged or adopted two boys, but he had afterwards formally disavowed them. Being himself an only son, he had no brothers, and it therefore became necessary to seek his successor among ascendants. Here, however, a difficulty arose. His father was the eldest of the ten sons of Sadut Ali. The second of these sons had died, leaving children, but the third, Nasir-ud-Dowlah, was still alive. According to British law, the second son would have transmitted his right of succession to his descendant, but the Mahometan law follows a different rule, and prefers a younger surviving brother to the children of an elder brother, who had predeceased before the succession opened to him. According to this view, Nasir-ud-Dowlah was the legal heir, and Colonel Low, the British resident, immediately on hearing of the death, prepared to recognize him.

Disputed
succession
in Oude

There was not a moment to be lost. The Padshah Begum, or queen-mother, who had been obliged to quit the palace in consequence of a quarrel with her son, was known to be intriguing for the succession of one of the boys whom he had formally disavowed, and the children of Sadut Ali's second son were disputing the soundness of the interpretation of the Mahometan law by which they were excluded. Under these circumstances, Colonel Low proceeded as follows. Immediately on receiving intelligence that Nasir-ud-din was just dying, he wrote to the brigadier commanding in Oude to have 1000 men in readiness to march at a moment's notice. He then hastened to the palace, and finding the king already dead, placed sentries at the inner doors, and sealed up the repositories. By a second order, the brigadier was desired to send off five companies in advance to the palace, and hasten with the remainder. Captain Paton, the resident's first assistant, remained at the palace, and Lieutenant

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Obligation
taken from
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The obligation which Nasir-ud-Dowlah was required to execute was in the following terms:—"Lieutenant-colonel John Low, the resident, has apprised me, through Lieutenant Shakespear, his second assistant, of the death of Nasir-ud-din Hyder, King of Oude. The resident has also communicated to me the substance of the orders of the government of India, respecting the necessity of new engagements on the part of the Company's government with the Oude state; and I hereby declare, that in the event of my being placed on the throne, I will agree to sign any new treaty that the governor-general may dictate" The old man, suddenly roused in the dead of the night, and told that the possession of a kingdom depended on his consent, readily did as he was asked, and after writing a few words binding him to everything that the document contained, completed the execution of it by appending his seal. According to Lieutenant Shakespear's account, he appeared to be much debilitated from bad health. The necessity of his removal, however, seemed so urgent, that no delay could be allowed, and he was carried to the palace, where, after holding an interview with the resident at three o'clock in the morning, he was accommodated with a couch in an adjoining room, "to take an hour or two's sleep previous to his installation on the throne"

Violent
proceedings
of the Pad-
shah Begum

While thus endeavouring to secure the throne for Nasir-ud-Dowlah, Colonel Low was not unmindful of the machinations of the Padshah Begum, and having some suspicion that she "might probably make a movement with her armed followers towards the city," sent a messenger "to enjoin her strictly, on no account to think of leaving her own place of residence, which is situated about four miles from the palace" The messenger had barely returned with her answer, requesting "that she might, for God's sake, be allowed to see the corpse of the late Nasir-ud-din, as she had not been allowed to see him whilst living." when a large body of her armed followers were seen rapidly approaching Captain Paton hastened to the outer gate to secure it, and found the insurgents standing before it in a dense mass and impatiently demanding admittance. When this was refused, they forced the gate by means of an elephant, which threw down one leaf of it, nearly crushing Captain Paton in its fall, and were soon absolute masters of the palace. Shortly afterwards, the Padshah Begum made her entrance, with her protégé, Moona Jaun, and lost not a moment in placing him on the musnud. The resident, who had managed to push his way through the crowd, only arrived to see the installation completed, and after vainly endeavouring to dissuade the Begum from the desperate course she was pursuing, was glad to effect his escape. Old Nasir-ud-Dowlah, thus rudely awakened from the sleep which he had retired to take, "previous to his installation on the throne," found himself a prisoner in the hands of his most inveterate

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While thus endeavouring to secure the throne for Nasir-ud-Dowlah, Colonel Low was not unmindful of the machinations of the Padshah Begum, and having some suspicion that she "might probably make a movement with her armed followers towards the city," sent a messenger "to enjoin her strictly, on no account to think of leaving her own place of residence, which is situated about four miles from the palace" The messenger had barely returned with her answer, requesting "that she might, for God's sake, be allowed to see the corpse of the late Nasir-ud-din, as she had not been allowed to see him whilst living." when a large body of her armed followers were seen rapidly approaching Captain Paton hastened to the outer gate to secure it, and found the insurgents standing before it in a dense mass and impatiently demanding admittance. When this was refused, they forced the gate by means of an elephant, which threw down one leaf of it, nearly crushing Captain Paton in its fall, and were soon absolute masters of the palace. Shortly afterwards, the Padshah Begum made her entrance, with her protégé, Moona Jaun, and lost not a moment in placing him on the musnud. The resident, who had managed to push his way through the crowd, only arrived to see the installation completed, and after vainly endeavouring to dissuade the Begum from the desperate course she was pursuing, was glad to effect his escape. Old Nasir-ud-Dowlah, thus rudely awakened from the sleep which he had retired to take, "previous to his installation on the throne," found himself a prisoner in the hands of his most inveterate

enemies. It is a wonder that they did not murder him on the spot, but fear of the consequences appears to have restrained them, and they contented themselves with heaping upon him all kinds of insults, and compelling him to witness the installation of his rival, at the very time when he had been expecting to receive his own.

The British troops having arrived, the resident sent a message to the Begum, allowing her only a quarter of an hour to make her submission. She returned an evasive answer, and as soon as the respite allowed her elapsed, he ordered hostilities to commence. A few discharges of grape having cleared the way, the soldiers rushed forward, and were soon in possession of the persons both of the Begum and Moona Jaun. Only three sepoy were wounded in the assault; the loss of the insurgents in killed and wounded was about forty. As soon as these were removed, Nasir-ud-Dowlah, whom it was found necessary "to soothe and encourage" after the agitating scenes of which he had been a most reluctant spectator, was brought forward and installed by the resident, who, placing the crown upon his head, declared him King of Oude. The Padshah Begum and her protégé were sent off as prisoners to Cawnpoor. On the 20th of July, twelve days after the installation, the governor-general addressed a letter to the new sovereign, in which he says: "I have derived consolation for the death of his late majesty, your royal nephew, from the reflection that he has been succeeded in the government by a prince of whose experience, abilities, and virtue I have been led to form the most favourable opinion." In a subsequent paragraph he says: "My representative, Colonel Low, who possesses my fullest confidence, has been authorized by me to propose, for the consideration of your majesty, certain modifications of the treaty subsisting between the East India Company and the Oude state, and I feel assured that your majesty will recognize in those propositions the same moderate views and the same zeal for the welfare of the prince and people of Oude, as have invariably characterized the British government in its negotiations with its allies." After reading the above obligations imposed on his majesty, this reads like burlesque, and the governor-general must himself have felt it to be so, as he was by no means so thoroughly satisfied with the proceedings of Colonel Low as his words imply. In a minute recorded by him, when the intelligence first reached Calcutta, he had thus expressed himself: "For any criticism in detail on the measures adopted by Colonel Low, we must wait for further accounts, but I may now say that I should undoubtedly have been better pleased if he had not in this moment of exigency accepted the unconditional engagement of submissiveness which the new king has signed. This document may be liable to misconstruction, and it was not warranted by anything contained in the instructions issued to Colonel Low." To Colonel Low himself he wrote as follows:—"His lordship in council would not qualify, even by an expression of doubt, the high approbation which he is ready to express of your conduct on this trying occasion. The expediency of obtaining from his

A.D. 1856.

Instructions in the palace easy to meet.

Views of the governor-general as to interference with native powers

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to acquaint you in reply that a claim precisely similar to that which you have advanced having been preferred to the local authorities in India by Yemeen-ud-Dowlah Bahudur, eldest son of Nawant Shum-ud-Dowlah, that prince was informed that the eldest surviving uncle of the late King of Oude has succeeded to the throne by inheritance according to the Mahometan law."

A.D. 1836

The decided interference of the British government had about the same time become necessary in another quarter. Pertaub Sing, the Rajah of Sattarah, had never shown much gratitude for the obligation conferred upon him when, under the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, he was rescued with his family from poverty and thralldom, and established in the possession of a considerable principality. At first indeed, as the actual administration was not to be conferred upon him till he should give proof of his ability to conduct it, his ambition urged him to unwonted exertion, and "he laboured," says Duff, "as assiduously as any carcoon under his government," but as soon as his object was gained, and the formal delivery to him of the entire powers of the state in April, 1822, made him his own master, his true character became fully developed. Shaking off the cares of government by committing them to worthless favourites, he gave himself up to indolence, or to pursuits so childish and eccentric, as to make his sanity more than questionable. Colonel Lodwick, the resident at his court, in a letter dated September, 1836, thus describes his conduct: "That the rajah's mind has become weak to an extraordinary degree is but too evident in his actions. He has lately formed a company of women, arming them with muskets, and even drilling them to the management of guns, cast and mounted expressly for the purpose. Women are also taught to manage elephants, to act as chobdars, massals, &c. Every designing gossain or fakir offering his services to propitiate the gods in favour of his wishes is attended to; and at this time three sects of Brahmins are performing anaostan ceremonies, at a heavy expense, to procure the departure of a ghost supposed to haunt the palace, and for other objects equally absurd and contemptible."

State of
matters in
Sattarah

With all this childishness and superstition the Rajah of Sattarah had a mighty idea of his own consequence, and looked upon all that had been done for him as a mere instalment of what he was entitled to claim as the lineal descendant of Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire. Adventurers, both native and European, knew how to turn this family pride to account, and as the most effectual means of gaining his good graces and stimulating his liberality, flattered him into the belief that he was destined to become the head of all the Hindoos. In a mind like his these extravagant ideas were not allowed to remain inoperative, and the eager desire to convert them into realities, had laid him open to the charge of having engaged in intrigues totally at variance with the relation in which he stood to the British government. This conduct naturally called forth remonstrance, and he was repeatedly warned of the perilous course which he was pursuing. He was not, however, to be either dissuaded or

Character of
the rajah

A D. 1839

The Rajah
of Sattarah
deposed.

deterred, and the threatened penalty at last overtook him. Considering the weakness of his character, and the suspicious nature of much of the evidence adduced to prove his guilt, some measure less severe than deposition might have fully answered the ends both of justice and policy. Sir James Carnac, the governor of Bombay, was at first disposed to pursue a lenient course, and held personal interviews with the rajah in the hope of inducing him to make the necessary concessions. He failed, and the result was announced in a proclamation issued by the resident at Sattarah, under the authority of the Bombay government, and dated September 5, 1839. This document, after detailing the generous manner in which the rajah had been treated, and enumerating the leading articles of the treaty made with him, continues thus: "Notwithstanding this solemn compact, it has been conclusively established to the conviction of the British government that the rajah, unmindful of his obligations, and of the generosity which restored him to liberty and conferred on him a throne, has, for a series of years, held clandestine communications contrary to the stipulations contained in the fifth article of the treaty; that he has cherished ambitious designs hostile to the British government, that he has advanced claims and pretensions incompatible with the letter and spirit of the treaty; and that he has conducted himself in a manner subversive of the alliance formed between the two states." The governor-general, when first made aware of these charges, and convinced of their truth, talked of annexation as the proper remedy. Ultimately more moderate counsels prevailed, and were thus intimated in the last paragraph of the proclamation. "The British government, however, having no view of advantage and aggrandizement, has resolved to invest the brother, and next in succession to the rajah, with the sovereignty of the Sattarah state, according to the limits fixed by the treaty of the 25th of September, 1819. He is therefore hereby declared Rajah of Sattarah, under the title of Shreemunt Maharaj Shabee Rajey Chut Turputtee of Sattarah; and all persons residing within his territory are hereby required to render to him allegiance." The course thus adopted excited much discussion both in India and in this country, but it was ultimately sustained, and the ex-rajah was carried off to end his days at Benares as a pensioner.

Russian
intrigues in
the East

Hitherto the policy pursued by Lord Auckland had been pacific, and seemed to indicate that his administration would, like that of his predecessor, run its course without any rupture of friendly relations with other states. It was otherwise destined. Connections, formed at first for the furtherance of commercial objects, produced political entanglements. The discovery of Russian intrigues, and the consequent apprehension of an invasion, suggested the necessity of providing against all possible danger by interposing new barriers on the western frontier, and Lord Auckland, listening only to his fears, and the counsels of rash advisers, was suddenly transformed into the most reckless and aggressive of all governors-general. Necessity, or something which he mistook

for it, became his only plea, and in utter disregard both of justice and prudence he rushed headlong into a series of measures which were to issue in disgrace and fearful disaster. Before giving the details it will be proper to take a brief survey of the leading states through whose territories, as bounding with those of British India on the west, the invasion, supposed to be threatened, would of course be made

CHAPTER II.

Relations with the Punjab, Scinde, Cabool, and Persia—Burnes' mission to the court of Dost Mahomed—Its failure—The Tripartite Treaty—The siege of Herat—The expedition to the Persian Gulf—The Simla manifesto.



IN the north-west, British India was bounded at this period by the territories of the Sikhs, who, though at first only a religious sect, had, under skilful leadership, acquired political importance and become a powerful state. Their original seat was the upper part of the Punjab, the possession of which had often been keenly-contested between the Moguls and the Afghans. By both of them the Sikhs were equally detested, and hence the alternate change of masters brought them no relief. The determination to extirpate them was openly avowed, and their only hope of escape was in their own prowess. Thus spurred by necessity they fought with the courage of despair. On various occasions they not only maintained their ground, but inflicted severe loss on their persecutors; and availing themselves of the confusion which prevailed during the last years of the Mogul empire, began to figure as conquerors. At first they existed as a confederacy composed of separate chieftainships, the heads of which claimed to be independent of each other, and were accustomed, when the common interest required it, to meet as equals in public diet at Amritser, where their principal shrine was situated. Towards the end of the last century the confederacy consisted of twelve associations or *misals*, which extended from the Indus eastward across the Sutlej as far as the Jumna. For a time, while it was felt that union was indispensable to their mutual security, they acted together with some degree of cordiality; but in proportion as external danger diminished, internal dissension increased, and the different *misals*, disregarding the public interest, began to aim at individual aggrandizement. The endless feuds thus engendered produced so much confusion that the necessity of a change of political system became apparent. If the Sikhs were to maintain their independence it could only be by submitting voluntarily or compulsorily to the ascendancy of some

Origin and territories of the Sikhs

Their twelve misals.

A D 1762 one misal, which might then incorporate the others with itself, and form the nucleus of an undivided Sikh sovereignty. The manner in which this was accomplished must now be briefly traced.

Rise of
ChurutSing

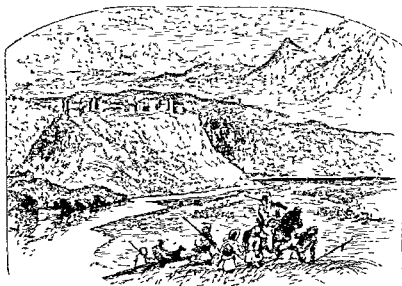
Among the twelve original misals the one which appears to have been last formed, and to have been regarded, in respect of territory, income, and influence, as the least important, was the Sookur-Chukea, which had its capital at Goojeranwala, about fifty miles north of Lahore. Its founder, Churut Sing, the son of a Jat, who had thrown off his own faith and avowed himself a Sikh convert, had commenced life as a freebooter, and become possessed of a small *garhi* or mud-fort, which served as a retreat for his family and followers, and a receptacle for his plunder. The extent of his depredations, and the dangerous proximity of his fort to Lahore, induced the Afghan governor of this capital to march against him in 1762, at the head of a large body of troops. The expedition proved a failure. The leading Sikh confederates made common cause with Churut Sing; and the governor, alarmed at the extent to which disaffection and treachery prevailed in his camp, was glad to secure his personal safety by a precipitate flight, leaving all his baggage and camp equipage behind him. The celebrated Afghan monarch, Ahmed Shah, in the course of the same year, amply avenged this defeat by hastening from Cabool and gaining a pitched battle, in which the Sikhs lost more than 12,000 men in killed and wounded. The state of his affairs however did not allow him to follow up his advantage, and on his sudden recall to Cabool to meet a still more pressing danger, the Sikhs were able to take the field at the head of a more powerful army than they had ever mustered before. No effectual resistance could be offered to them, and they extended their conquests on every side. Churut Sing, now recognized as one of the ablest of their leaders, was not neglectful of his own interest, and became the head of a misal, which took its name from the lands of which his progenitors had been merely cultivators.

His progress.

When no longer engaged in assisting to repel Afghan invasion, Churut Sing was ready for any enterprise from which additional territory or revenue might be acquired, and was therefore easily tempted to take part in a violent domestic quarrel between the hill-rajah of Jumoo and Brij-Raj his eldest son. The rajah wished a younger son to succeed, and Brij-Raj, as the most effectual means of frustrating this intention, had resolved to anticipate the succession by seizing it in his father's lifetime. With this view he applied to Churut Sing, and offered to reward his assistance, in the event of its proving successful, by the payment of a large annual tribute. Churut Sing at once consented, and, in league with Jye Sing, the head of the Ghumna misal, which could muster 8000 horse, while he had not more than 2500, proceeded northward to open the campaign. The rajah on his part had not been idle. In addition to several hill-chiefs, he had secured the aid of Jhunda Sing, the head of the Bhangee misal, which of itself could bring 10,000 horse into the field. While the hostile armies

lay encamped on the opposite sides of the Busuntur, a partial skirmish took place, and proved fatal to Churut Sing, who was killed by the bursting of his matchlock. This event, which happened in 1774, put an end to the campaign. The allies of Brij-Raj withdrew, after the dastardly act of murdering Jhunda

A.D. 1774.

Death of
Churut Sing

Jumoo.—From Hon. C. S. Harlunge's Recollections of India.

Sing by the hands of a hired assassin; and the Bhangee misal, thus atrociously deprived of their chief, had no longer any desire to continue the contest.

Churut Sing was succeeded by his son Maha Sing, who was only ten years of age. For some years the government was conducted by his mother and the Ghunea chief, Jye Sing; but the young chief was too talented and ambitious to submit long to tutelage, and was only approaching the years of manhood when he took the reins of government into his own hands, and immediately commenced a series of aggressions on his neighbours. The object of his first attack was the strong fort of Ramnuggur, situated on the east bank of the Chenab, and held by a Jat Mussulman of the name of Peer Mahomed. The cause of quarrel was a celebrated gun which Churut Sing had captured from the Afghans and deposited with the Chutta tribe, of which Peer Mahomed was the chief, until he should be able to convey it across the Chenab and transport it to his own capital. The tribe, it was alleged, had violated the trust by giving up the gun to the Bhangee misal. On this pretext Maha Sing, in concert with Jye Sing, made his appearance before Ramnuggur, and after a siege of four months compelled it to surrender. The capture was in itself of less value than the reputation acquired by it; for many chiefs who had previously been attached to the Bhangee misal, believing that its fortunes were on the wane, abandoned it, and placed themselves under Maha Sing's protection. The success of this first enterprise naturally stimulated to a second, and Maha Sing turned his victorious arms in the direction of Jumoo. The rajah above

He is suc-
ceeded by
Maha SingConquests of
Maha Sing.

A D 1791 referred to had died, and been succeeded by Brij-Raj. From the friendly relations which had subsisted between the latter and Churut Sing, it might have been supposed that Jumoo was the last place which Maha Sing would have felt justified in attacking. With him however friendship was invariably sacrificed without scruple to what was considered policy; and he therefore no sooner learned that Brij-Raj's misgovernment was producing general discontent, than he first made claims upon him which he knew would be refused, and then made the refusal a pretext for ravaging his territory. Unprincipled though the proceeding was it proved successful, and Maha Sing returned from the pillage of Jumoo laden with spoil which, certainly not without great exaggeration, was estimated at £2,000,000 sterling.

Alarm of the
other Sikh
chiefs

These successes were not unaccompanied with disadvantages. The other misals began to take alarm at the sudden aggrandizement of the one which had hitherto been regarded as the most insignificant of their number, and even Jye Sing was so much offended with the expedition to Jumoo, that when Maha Sing waited upon him at Amritser, he not only received him with the greatest coolness, but treated him with insult. As usual Maha Sing thought only of the manner in which he might turn this contumelious treatment to his own advantage, and suddenly made his appearance at the head of a large force before Butala, the capital of Jye Sing's possessions. Here fortune again favoured him, and Jye Sing was compelled to accept of peace on humiliating terms, after his son Goor Buksh, a promising youth in whom all his hopes were set, had fallen in battle. Maha Sing's ascendancy among the Sikh chiefs was now established, but his ambition was not yet satisfied, and he proceeded once more to gratify it, without any scruple as to the means. In 1791 Sahib Sing, who had married Maha Sing's sister, became by the death of his father chief of Gujerat, situated in the Doab, between the Chenab and Jhelum. The disturbance occasioned by a new succession was too tempting an opportunity to be overlooked, and Maha Sing, totally regardless of the claims of affinity, determined to take an ungenerous advantage of his brother-in-law, by urging a claim of tribute which he knew to be groundless, and then making the refusal of it a pretext for hostilities. He accordingly collected his forces, and commenced operations by laying siege to one of his brother-in-law's forts. The attempt proved more difficult and dilatory than he had anticipated, as some of the other misals, now thoroughly alarmed at the unbounded ambition which he displayed, had come to the rescue. It is probable, however, that he would once more have triumphed, for he had driven the troops opposed to him from the field, and was prosecuting the siege with every prospect of success, when he was seized with an illness which obliged him to return to his own capital, and carried him off in the beginning of 1792, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

The state of affairs at the time of Maha Sing's death was very alarming

He had wantonly provoked the hostility of several of the leading misals, and suddenly disappeared from the scene, leaving the succession to be taken up by his only son Runjeet Sing, who was then only in his twelfth year. An honest and talented regency seemed alone capable of saving the country, but this was scarcely to be expected. The mother of the young prince, to whom the office naturally belonged, was notorious for her profligacy, and shared her power with

A D 1792

Death of
Maha Sing,
and succes-
sion of Run-
jeet Sing



AMSTER.—FROM SIR A. BURNES' CABOOL

a minister with whom she had formed a disgraceful connection. What but ruin was to be expected from a government administered by such unworthy hands! Nor was there much prospect that Runjeet Sing himself on arriving at manhood would be able to remedy the evils of previous misgovernment. When a mere infant an attack of the small-pox, which threatened his life, cost him the sight of one of his eyes, and had left its ravages strongly marked on his countenance. His education was almost entirely neglected, and instead of being trained to the duties which were expected to devolve upon him, means were actually and designedly taken to give him a disrelish, and unfit him for the discharge of them. His mother, anxious to retain the government in her own hands, sought to gain her object by indulging him in early familiarity with every form of vice. From such a youth, judging from appearance, nothing was to be expected, and therefore it is the more wonderful that he ultimately proved one of the ablest monarchs that ever reigned, united a number of disjointed federations into one compact and powerful kingdom, extended its limits by new conquests, raised it to a height of glory which it possessed only while he ruled it, and which it lost as soon as by his death the government passed into other hands.

His early
training.

According to the preposterous custom prevalent in the East, Runjeet Sing was already married at the time of his father's death. His wife was Mehtab Koonwur, the only child of Goor Buksh, whose death in battle has been mentioned above, and consequently the grand-daughter of Jye Sing, chief of

A D 1793

Administra-
tion during
Runjeet
Sing's
minority

the Ghunea misal After the death of his favourite son, Jye Sing had concentrated his affections on this only child, and fallen, in consequence, under the influence of her mother Suda Koonwur, Goor Buksh's widow, a woman of great talents and boundless ambition. Availing herself of her ascendancy over the old chief, she had not only planned the marriage of her daughter with Runjeet Sing, but had also secured the succession to the Ghunea misal to herself. She accordingly succeeded on the death of Jye Sing in 1793, and was thus able while administering her own government to exert a very decided influence over that of her son-in-law. Through this interference and the ability with which it was exerted, Runjeet Sing's possessions were tolerably well managed during his minority, and many of the mischiefs which must have occurred had his profligate mother and her paramour been allowed to take their own course were happily prevented.

He assumes
the govern-
ment

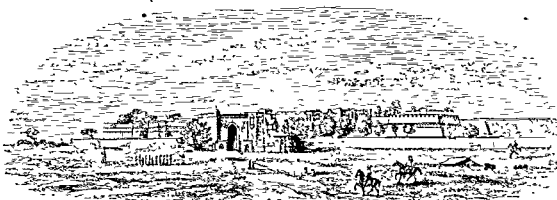
It was not long, however, before Runjeet Sing, in imitation of his father's example, threw off the restraints of tutelage. On attaining the age of seventeen he assumed the government, and effectually rid himself of all undue interference by procuring the deaths both of his mother and her minister. With Suda Koonwur, his mother-in-law, he still remained on friendly terms, deriving essential aid both from her counsels and the military assistance which her possession of the Ghunea misal enabled her to afford him. Shortly after Runjeet Sing began to rule for himself, the Afghan monarch Zemaun Shah invaded the Punjab, and caused that alarm in India of which some account has been given in a previous part of this work. The Sikhs did not venture to meet him in the open field, and on his advance retired beyond the Sutlej. Runjeet Sing was among the number of the chiefs who thus consulted for their safety, but while making common cause with them he was steadily pursuing his own interest by means of a treacherous intrigue. Zemaun Shah had taken possession of Lahore without opposition, and was about to complete his conquest of the Punjab when dissensions among his own troops, and a threatened invasion from Persia, compelled him hastily to retrace his steps. In his precipitate flight the Jhelum was found to be so much swollen that he could not transport his artillery across it. He therefore entered into a negotiation with Runjeet Sing, and engaged to give him a grant of Lahore if he would forward the guns to him. Runjeet Sing performed his part of the agreement, and having in return obtained the grant, proceeded to enforce it, though at the expense of those with whom he had lately been allied. With the aid of his mother-in-law he fitted out an expedition, to which the chiefs in possession of Lahore were unable to offer any effectual resistance. Thus possessed of the capital of the Punjab he prepared to make it the nucleus of new conquests, and become, instead of the chief of a misal, the sovereign of a great monarchy.

His relations
with Ze-
maun Shah.

For several years after the commencement of the present century, Runjeet Sing continued to pursue an uninterrupted career of conquest, dexterously avail-

ing himself of every opportunity afforded by internal dissensions, and accomplishing as much by bribery and treachery as by force of arms. In 1802 the Bhangee misal, which had long offered the most determined resistance to his encroachments, was broken up and made tributary, and many of the districts to the south and east of Lahore were compelled to acknowledge his supremacy. In 1804 the dissensions which prevailed in Cabool, while the four sons of Timour Shah, Humayun, Mahmoud, Zemaun Shah, and Shah Shujah, were contending for the throne, determined him to make an expedition into those countries east of the Indus which were still nominally subject to Afghan rule. He accordingly proceeded across the Ravee and the Chenab, and found most of the chiefs more disposed to buy him off by presents and promises of tribute than to run the risk of hostilities. He was too politic not to accept of this mode of adjustment, which, while it gave him a nominal, that might afterwards be converted into a real supremacy, enriched his treasury, and thereby furnished him with the means of future conquests. In 1805, shortly after his return from this western

A D 1805.

Acquisitions
of Runjeet
Sing

FORT OF GOVINDGARH, near Amritsar.—From Sketches in Punjab by a Lady

expedition, Jeswunt Row Holkar made his appearance, closely followed by Lord Lake. Runjeet Sing was thus brought for the first time into immediate communication with the Mahrattas and the British, and fully alive to the importance of the crisis which had arrived, endeavoured at least to divide the responsibility with the other Sikh chiefs, by holding a *gurumata* or national council at Amritsar. The ties which formerly bound the confederacy were now so loose that no united decision could be given, and the only thing left was to temporize and give friendly words to the two hostile armies without affording any real assistance to either. This mode of proceeding had the desired result, for Jeswunt Row Holkar, finding that he had nothing to hope from the Sikhs, was only too glad to accept of the extravagantly favourable terms which the timorous policy of Sir George Barlow the governor-general had offered him. On the peace which followed the two armies took their departure, and the Punjab escaped for the time from becoming a sanguinary battle-field.

His relations
with the
Mahrattas
and the
British.

the conquests he had made from the protected states, after the fact of protection had been distinctly intimated to him. A D. 1808.

Runjeet Sing's career of conquest toward the east having been thus abruptly terminated, he naturally turned to the directions which were still open to him, and gradually succeeded by force or fraud in bringing nearly the whole of the Punjab under his sway. The faithlessness and treachery which marked his proceedings must have produced strong feelings of indignation and abhorrence among those who had suffered, or saw themselves threatened by them, but internal feuds made it impossible to form any general confederacy against him, while the regular discipline which he had introduced among his troops gave them such a decided superiority as seemed to render resistance hopeless. He was hence able to make the most of his successes, and by means of exaction and pillage used war as a means of replenishing, instead of exhausting his treasury. Meanwhile events were taking place in Afghanistan which tempted him to carry his views beyond the Punjab. In the contest for the crown between the sons of Timour Shah, Shah Mahmoud had proved victorious, and his two brothers, Zemaun Shah, whom he had barbarously deprived of sight, and Shah Shujah, had been compelled to seek a foreign asylum. In prosecuting his successes, Futteh Khan, the vizier of Shah Mahmoud, had resolved to punish the governors of Attock and Cashmere for the assistance which they had given to the fugitive princes. In this manner, from the proximity of the territories, Futteh Khan and Runjeet Sing were brought into close communication, and entered into an agreement, by which it was stipulated that the latter, in consideration of a share of the plunder, a present of nine lacs, and some prospective advantages, would not only allow the former a free passage through his territories, but furnish him with an auxiliary force of 12,000 Sikhs. As both parties were adepts in fraud, each endeavoured to turn the agreement to his own sole advantage. Futteh Sing having recovered Cashmere, refused to share the plunder, alleging that the Sikhs had not assisted him according to promise, and Runjeet Sing, by means of an intrigue, made himself master of Attock, and refused to part with it.

The Sikh auxiliaries on their return to Lahore were accompanied by Shah Shujah, who, having received a pressing invitation from Runjeet Sing, was in hopes of being aided by him in an attempt to recover the throne of Cabool. The invitation had been given with very different intentions. Shah Shujah was in possession of the celebrated diamond Koh-i-noor, now belonging to the British crown, and Runjeet Sing, who had set his heart upon it, was determined to effect his object, though it should be at the expense of a gross violation of all the rights of hospitality. The very second day after Shah Shujah's arrival he sent an emissary to demand it, and on receiving an evasive answer, began to employ every species of duress. Sentinels were placed over the Shah's dwelling, and by actually withholding from him and his family the necessities

Runjeet
Sing's
designs on
Afghanistan

His treat-
ment of
Shah Shujah.

A.D. 1819. of life, he was at last starved into compliance. His own account of the matter is as follows:—When he had endured a month of privation, "Runjeet Sing came in person, and after friendly protestations he stained a paper with safflower, and swearing by the Granth of Baba Namuk and his own sword, he wrote the following security and compact: That he delivered over the provinces of Kota Cumaleeh, Jung Shawl, and Khullh Noor to us and our heirs for ever, also offering assistance in troops and treasure for the



THE KOH-I-NOOR, OR "MOUNTAIN OF LIGHT"
From an engraving in Illustrated London News.

The Koh-i-noor extorted from Shah Shujah by Runjeet Sing

purpose of again recovering our throne. We also agreed, if we should ever ascend the throne, to consider Runjeet Sing always in the light of an ally. He then proposed himself that we should exchange turbans, which is among the Sikhs a pledge of eternal friendship, and we then gave him the Koh-i-noor." The Shah soon found that Runjeet Sing's promises and oaths were equally worthless, and after being subjected for months to continued shameless extortion, he at last succeeded with difficulty in 1816 in making his escape in disguise, and obtaining a hospitable settlement at Loodiana, within the British territory immediately south of the Sutlej.

Failure of an expedition against Cashmere

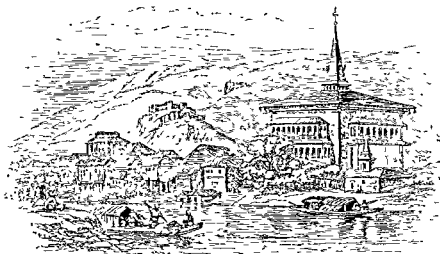
Meanwhile Runjeet Sing, who had succeeded in subduing most of the hill-chiefs on his northern frontiers, was meditating the conquest of Cashmere. At first, however, he underrated the difficulties, and after sustaining severe reverses, returned crest-fallen to Lahore. He was too cautious to attempt prematurely to retrieve the disgrace, and therefore, having so far satisfied his vengeance by punishing some of the hill-chiefs who had abandoned him, he turned his arms in an opposite direction. In the beginning of 1816, having again mustered his forces, he proceeded south-west in the direction of Mooltan, which he had long been endeavouring to annex to his dominions. His first expedition was unsuccessful, but a second, undertaken in 1818, was more fortunate, and the citadel, with an immense booty, fell into his hands. He was now in a condition to resume his designs on Cashmere, which he again invaded in 1819. He was greatly favoured by circumstances. Almost all the veteran Afghan troops were absent beyond the Indus, and he was opposed only by raw levies, which a single encounter sufficed to defeat and disperse. Cashmere with its celebrated valley thus became an integral portion of the Sikh monarchy. With his conquests his ambition increased, and he began to look southward into Scinde, and westward beyond the Indus. In the latter direction Attock, which secured the passage of the river, was already in his power, and gave him ready access to the territory of Peshawer. As the Afghans, with whom he was about to engage

¹ Runjeet Sing was accustomed to wear this diamond on his right arm, set, as we have engraved it, in gold, surrounded with small rubies.

in hostilities, were naturally brave, and had a high military reputation, Runjeet Sing saw the necessity of still further improving the discipline of his own troops, and therefore considered himself fortunate when two French officers, Ventura and Allard, unexpectedly made their appearance in his capital in quest of employment. They had both fought under Napoleon I. at Waterloo, the one as colonel of infantry, and the other as colonel of cavalry, and were thus well qualified to undertake the task which Runjeet Sing, after satisfying himself that they had no sinister objects in view, committed to them. Under their superintendence bodies of infantry and cavalry were fully initiated in the European discipline, and added greatly to the effective force of the Sikh army. It was not however till the end of 1823 that Runjeet Sing marched across the Indus with the avowed design of making himself master of Peshawer. The

A.D. 1831

European discipline introduced into Sikh army.



SRINAGUR, the Capital of Cashmere.—From the Hon. C. S. Hardinge's Recollections of India

detestation in which the Mahometans and Sikhs hold each other's tenets gave to the contest all the fury of a religious war, and though Runjeet Sing had chosen his time well, and taken his enemies at a disadvantage, his conquest was not effected without severe loss. Even after he had made a triumphant entry into Peshawer, his difficulties seemed to increase. Wherever he moved his troops marauding parties kept hovering around him, cutting off his supplies and endangering his communications, and he was glad at last to enter into a compromise, by which he left the country in possession of its former chiefs, on their engaging to acknowledge his supremacy and pay him tribute. On the whole he had little cause to plume himself on the results of the expedition. A Mahometan fanatic continued ever and anon to raise the religious war-cry, and during a series of struggles, only terminated by his death in 1831, made the possession of Peshawer by the Sikhs both expensive and precarious. Runjeet Sing had now extended his territories to the utmost limits which they were destined to attain. His ambition, it is true, was by no means satisfied. Often

Runjeet Sing's acquisition of Peshawer

A D 1831

The basin of
the Indus

had he turned with longing eyes to the south-west, and thought of penetrating to the delta of the Indus. He had even undertaken expeditions which had that object in view, but his presence there had been anticipated by the British, and when made aware that his further progress in that quarter might endanger his alliance with them, he was too prudent not to desist. All the country between the Punjab and the sea, though not allowed to escape entirely from his encroachments, was thus considered independent, and must now be noticed as forming part of what was then the western boundary of British India.

Bhawulpoor

Scinde

The Indus, after receiving the Punjnud, laden with the accumulated waters of the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravee, and the Garra or Sutlej, continues its course southward to the ocean in a comparatively narrow valley, which in respect both of its fertility, where natural or artificial irrigation is afforded, and of the barren deserts which hem it in on either side, has been not inaptly compared to that of the Nile. This tract, though not of very great extent, furnishes more than one separate sovereignty. The upper part, commencing on the left bank of the Indus, and continued, on quitting it, along the left banks of the Punjnud and Garra, belongs in sovereignty to the Khan of Bhawulpoor, who, alarmed like the Sikh chiefs on the left bank of the Sutlej at the progress of Runjeet Sing, gladly entered into an alliance with the British, which placed him beyond the reach of danger. All the tract to the south, forming what is properly called Scinde, after it had passed through the hands of various masters, was at last portioned out among a number of chiefs, known by the designation of the Ameers or rulers of Scinde. As early as the eighth century it had been overrun by the Mahometans, and continued thereafter to be regarded as a dependency of Persia. The celebrated Mahmoud of Ghuznee included it among his conquests, and made it an integral portion of his kingdom of Cabool. On the fall of his dynasty it passed successively to the Soomras, a race of Arab extraction who claimed absolute independence, and to the Soomas, a race of Hindoos who, less martial than their predecessors, bartered independence for security, and acknowledged the supremacy of the sovereigns of Delhi. During the reign of Akbar, Scinde, while nominally ruled by native princes, was to all intents a province of the Mogul empire. At a later period the Kaloras, a race of religious teachers who claimed descent from the Abasside caliphs, availed themselves of the influence which their supposed sanctity gave them, and usurped the government. Mahomed Shah of Delhi, as the only means of preserving their nominal dependence, recognized a Kalora of the name of Noor Mahomed as his vicegerent. The expedient, however, proved a failure, and the Kaloras had shaken off their allegiance when Nadir Shah made his celebrated expedition into India. For a short time they professed submission to the Persian conqueror. On his death they endeavoured to reassert their independence, but were only able to exchange the supremacy of Persia for that of Afghanistan.

The connection thus formed with Afghanistan, though it was seldom more than nominal, was never completely dissolved, and the rulers of Scinde did not consider their title complete till it was formally recognized by the sovereigns of Cabool. Meanwhile great internal dissension prevailed. Not only was the regular line of succession interrupted by competing claims among the Kaloras themselves, but various tribes from Beloochistan having obtained a permanent footing in the country, had begun to aspire to the government of it. After a long struggle, during which both parties were guilty of barbarous atrocities, the Belooches prevailed, and the Kaloras were supplanted by the Talpooras in 1786. Futteh Ali, the Talpoora chief by whom the revolution had been mainly effected, assumed the sovereignty, but was not long allowed to hold it undisputed. The chiefs who had assisted him thought themselves entitled to a larger share of power and territory than he was willing to allot them, and the dispute was on the point of being decided by the sword, when the counsels of the elders, and the tears and entreaties of the women, prevailed in procuring a peaceful arrangement, by which, though Futteh Ali was still recognized as the chief ruler, the whole country was divided into three independent districts. To Meer Sohrul was assigned Khyrpoor in the north, and to his kinsman Meer Thara, Meerpoor in the south-east, while Futteh Ali seated himself at Hyderabad as the capital, and shared the sovereignty with his three brothers, Gholam Ali, Kureem Ali, and Moorad Ali.

A D. 1809

Changes of
dynasty in
Scinde.

The British government, attaching an importance to the navigation of the Indus which was deemed extravagant by some of the ablest Indian statesmen, but which subsequent events have fully justified, had repeatedly attempted to form friendly relations with the court of Hyderabad. At an early period a commercial agent of the Company was allowed to reside and trade at Tatta, but was so much obstructed by the ruling authorities, and even subjected to popular violence, *for which no redress could be obtained, that the agency was withdrawn.* This insulting and injurious treatment was owing to the jealousy which the Ameers entertained of the British power, and a suspicion that, under the pretext of commerce, ulterior designs of conquest might be concealed. No attempt, therefore, was made to renew friendly intercourse between the two governments till a greater fear than that of British encroachment induced the Ameers themselves to apply for it. When threatened with an invasion from Cabool they had sought succour from Persia. It was readily granted, and a Persian army had been ordered to march to their assistance. Meanwhile the Cabool invasion had proved abortive, and the Ameers, now less afraid of it than of their Persian auxiliaries, thought it a good stroke of policy to seek the friendship of the British government as a means of frustrating the ambitious designs of Persia. An agent was accordingly despatched by them to Bombay with a proposal to renew the commercial intercourse which had formerly existed. Nothing seemed more desirable, and Captain Seton proceeded as envoy to

Relations
with the
Ameers of
Scinde

A.D. 1809.

Treaty with
the Ameers
of Scinde

Hyderabad to complete the necessary arrangements. The negotiation soon assumed a more important form, and Captain Seton, instead of a commercial treaty, concluded a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. In this he exceeded his powers, and his government, not prepared to risk the entanglements in which such a treaty might involve them, refused to ratify it. Ultimately, after many delays, Futteli Ali being now dead, a treaty was concluded with his three brothers above mentioned, on the 22d of August, 1809. It consisted only of four articles, which being very brief, may here be given entire:—"1. There shall be eternal friendship between the British government and that of Scinde. 2. Enmity shall never appear between the two states. 3. The mutual despatch of the vakeels of both governments shall always continue. 4. The government of Scinde will not allow the establishment of the tribe of the French in Scinde."

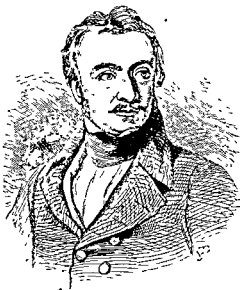
The last article of this treaty reminds us that it was made at the time when a French invasion of India, by an army brought overland through Turkey and Persia, was believed to be not only practicable but probable. As this alarm soon passed away, the friendly relations which had been established with Scinde lost much of their supposed importance, and no further negotiations appear to have taken place till 1820, when the governor of Bombay, with the sanction of the supreme government, procured a renewal of the first treaty, with the addition of an article which bound the contracting parties to take vigorous measures to suppress the predatory hordes who were continually making inroads and disturbing the tranquillity of the frontiers. A few years later, public attention having again been drawn to the navigation of the Indus, Lord Ellenborough, then president of the Board of Control, resolved to take advantage of the transmission of a present of horses from the King of Great Britain to Runjeet Sing, to ascertain the navigable capabilities of the river. With this view the horses which had arrived at Bombay were to be conveyed to Lahore by water. This double task of conveying the present and making it at the same time subservient to a more important, though hidden purpose, was intrusted to one well qualified to perform it. This was Alexander Burnes, a Scotchman, who was born at Montrose in 1805, and entered the Bombay army as a cadet at the age of sixteen. Instead of resting satisfied with the ordinary routine of military duty, he was a diligent student of the native languages, and made so much proficiency that government employed him as a Persian translator and interpreter. To diligence as a student he added a great love of enterprise, and thus recommended himself to Sir John Malcolm, then governor of Bombay, as the best person who could be employed in conveying the present to Runjeet Sing. In fact he was already on the spot, having become political assistant to Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Pottinger, the resident in Cutch, where the mission was to have its rendezvous before starting for Lahore.

Though there was nothing in the treaty with the Ameers binding them to

Expedition
up the
Indus by
Alexander
Burnes.

permit such a mission to pass along the Indus, it was deemed politic to assume that they would not object, or at all events to put it out of their power to start objections till the voyage had actually commenced. Accordingly no communication was made on the subject to the government of Scinde, and Lieutenant Burnes, after entering the Indus with his fleet of boats, had reached the first inhabited town on its banks, before he forwarded his despatches to Hyderabad. It was no wonder that the Ameers took alarm when thus superciliously treated, and immediately sent an officer, with a small party of soldiers, to request Lieutenant Burnes to wait at the mouth of the river for further orders. He deemed it prudent to comply, and spent nearly six weeks in negotiation before he obtained permission to proceed. Even then so many obstacles were thrown in his way, that though he sailed again on the 10th of March, 1831, it was the 18th of April before he reached Hyderabad. All objections however had now disappeared, and the Ameers, as if conscious that their previous opposition might be interpreted to their disadvantage, endeavoured to make amends by affording every requisite facility; the navigation of the river itself presented few difficulties, and the flotilla continuing to ascend to the junction of the Punjnad successively entered that river, the Jhelum, and the Ravee, and on the 17th of July arrived in safety amid great rejoicings at Lahore.

A D. 1832.

Obstacles
encountered
by Lieuten-
ant Burnes

SIR HENRY POTTINGER.
After a portrait by S. Lawrence.

New treaty
with the
Ameers

The problem of the navigation of the Indus and its leading tributaries having been in a manner solved, no time was lost in turning the knowledge which had been acquired to account, and the Ameers appear to have thought that their worst fears were about to be realized, when in the beginning of 1832, the East India Company submitted to them a new treaty, containing clauses very different from those to which they had previously consented. The article to which the Company appeared to attach most importance, was that the river and roads of Scinde should be open to "the merchants and traders of Hindoostan," on payment of "certain proper and moderate duties," to be afterwards fixed. The Ameers showed the greatest reluctance to conclude this treaty, and only consented at last, after stipulating that "no military stores" and "no armed vessels or boats shall come by the river," and that "no Englishmen shall be allowed to settle in Scinde." They expressed their fears still more strongly and characteristically in the second article, which is *verbatim* as follows: "The

A D 1834

contracting parties bind themselves never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." The commercial part of this treaty was renewed and made more explicit by another treaty, concluded in 1834, but the prohibition of armed vessels and of the transport of military stores remained entire, and could not be violated without a gross breach of faith.

Relations
with Persia

Though commercial interests only were ostensibly consulted in the treaties relating to the navigation of the Indus, there cannot be a doubt that political objects were also contemplated. The alarm of a French invasion of India had entirely passed away, but another alarm had arisen. Russia was now the great bugbear. In pursuing her conquests beyond the Caucasus she had provoked a collision with Persia, and, as might have been anticipated, gained a series of victories, which had at once added greatly to her dominions and given her diplomacy a decided ascendancy at the Persian court. Persia previous to this change in her political relations had been regarded by the British government as the strongest barrier against the invasion of India by any European power, and under this conviction two treaties had been concluded, the one in 1809 and the other in 1814, both having it for their main object to secure India from European invasion. In the former treaty "his majesty the King of Persia judges it necessary to declare that from the date of these preliminary articles every treaty or agreement he may have made with any one of the powers of Europe becomes null and void, and that he will not permit any European force whatever to pass through Persia, either towards India or towards the ports of that country." In the latter treaty the same object was steadily kept in view, though, to meet the change of circumstances, the terms were so far altered that the Persian government, while binding themselves as before "not to allow any European army to enter the Persian territory, nor to proceed towards India," limit the former declaration of nullity to "all alliances contracted with European nations in a state of hostility with Great Britain."

Purpose of
treaties
with Persia

At the dates of these treaties Afghanistan, which, from its being interposed between Persia and India, was certainly the more natural barrier, appears to have been regarded as necessarily and irreconcilably opposed to British interests; and hence, as if any idea of an alliance with it were too absurd to be entertained, the event of hostilities only was provided for. In the second treaty articles eighth and ninth stand as follows:—"Should the Afghans be at war with the British nation, his Persian majesty engages to send an army against them in such manner and of such force as may be concerted with the English government. The expenses of such an army shall be defrayed by the British government in such manner as may be agreed upon at the period of its being required." "If war should be declared between the Afghans and Persians, the English government shall not interfere with either party, unless their mediation to effect a peace shall be solicited by both parties." At this time there was an apprehension

that the Afghans might themselves become aggressors and aspire to the conquest of India; and the British government was so little aware of their utter inability to attempt or at least to succeed in such an enterprise, that it was not thought degrading to stipulate for foreign aid to assist them in repelling such an invasion. The Persian government, better informed as to the real state of the case, were contented with stipulating only for non-interference. A D 1814

Not long after the second treaty with Persia was signed, British statesmen saw reason to change their views with regard to the relative importance of Persia and Afghanistan as barriers of defence to India. Persia, brought as has been told, into collision with Russia, proved totally incapable of maintaining her own ground, and was in consequence daily becoming more and more subject to Russian influence. So far was she therefore from having either the ability or the inclination to fulfil the conditions of the treaty and resist any European force which might threaten to march upon India, that she had been reduced to a kind of vassalage to the only power from which an attack on India could now be apprehended. Under these circumstances the idea of a Persian barrier of defence was necessarily abandoned, and no alternative remained but to fall back on Afghanistan. For such a purpose no country could be better adapted. It consists for the most part of a bleak and rugged table-land, inclosed and traversed by mountain ranges, and intersected by deep and precipitous ravines, through one or other of which an invading army from the west must force its way in order to reach the plains of the Indus. To such a march, even unopposed, the physical obstacles were all but insurmountable; but when to these was added the hostility of a population proud of freedom, full of courage, and accustomed to war and pillage as their daily occupation, the invasion of India by a forced passage through Afghanistan was an obvious impossibility. It is no doubt true that on more than one occasion conquering armies had marched from that quarter, but *there is reason to believe that they never would have succeeded had they not previously purchased the aid or at least the forbearance of the mountain tribes commanding the passes.* Afghanistan as a barrier to India

Assuming then that it was necessary to provide a western barrier to India, there can hardly be a doubt that it was to be sought for in Afghanistan, and that the only thing necessary to render it effectual was to secure the friendship of its rulers. In this however the great difficulty lay. The country, once governed as a united monarchy, had been broken up into a number of rival independencies, the heads of which, jealous of each other and pursuing separate interests, were little inclined to concur in any common course of action. As early as 1809, when the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone proceeded on his celebrated embassy to Cabool, he found a civil war raging, and Shah Shujah, who was then nominal sovereign, engaged in a struggle which was to drive him into exile. Singular as were the circumstances, a treaty was concluded, one of its articles declaring that "friendship and union shall continue for ever Treaty with the Afghans.

*A D 1816

between the two states; the veil of separation shall be lifted up from between them, and they shall in no manner interfere in each other's countries; and the King of Cabool shall permit no individual of the French to enter his territories.* This treaty proved a dead letter in so far as British interests were concerned, but was fortunate for Shah Shujah, as it was doubtless one main cause of the asylum which was afterwards given to him and his family within the British territory at Loodiana.

Internal
condition of
Afghanistan

The throne of Cabool, when Shah Shujah was driven from it, was occupied by his brother Shah Mahmoud. The Dooranee tribe to which they belonged thus continued to be the ruling dynasty. In this respect, however, a change was about to take place. Shah Mahmoud had been mainly indebted for his success to the abilities of Futteh Khan, who stood at the head of the Barukzye tribe, only inferior in rank to the Dooranee, and was one of a family of twenty brothers. Futteh Khan, well aware of the value of his services, did not allow them to be forgotten, and used his office of prime minister in such a manner as showed that he was not to be satisfied until all the power of the government was concentrated in his hands. Shah Mahmoud had no idea of allowing himself to be thus reduced to a cipher, and watched for an opportunity of escaping from the yoke which the Barukzye chief had imposed upon him. The violent proceedings of Futteh Khan during an expedition to the frontiers of Persia were made the pretext. The boundaries between the two countries were not well defined, and encroachments from either side, followed by mutual recriminations and retaliations, repeatedly took place. Towards the end of 1816, shortly after Shah Shujah had resigned the contest for the crown and joined his family at Loodiana, Futteh Khan marched an army into Khorasan to repel and punish an invasion directed, or at least encouraged, by the Persian government. Brought by the expedition to the vicinity of Herat, which was then held nominally for Afghanistan by Ferooz-ood-Deen, Shah Mahmoud's brother, he determined to seize it by treachery, and bring it completely under Barukzye influence. With this view he despatched his youngest brother Dost Mahomed, of whom more will be heard hereafter, to pay an apparently friendly visit to Herat, at the head of a small body of tried adherents. Meanwhile Futteh Khan arrived in the vicinity with his army, and was engaged in conference with the leading chiefs, who had left the city as a deputation to wait upon him, when Dost Mahomed seized the opportunity to effect his purpose. Overpowering those of the garrison whom he had not been able previously to gain by bribery, he made the governor his prisoner, pillaged the treasury, and not satisfied with massacring all who offered resistance, was guilty of wanton and unmanly atrocities.

Treachery
attack on
Herat

It is not improbable that the attack on Herat was made with the sanction of Shah Mahmoud, who was anxious to displace his brother; but the general horror and disgust excited by the manner in which it had been effected made

him disavow all connection with it, and gave him the means of escaping from the thralldom of his minister. Dost Mahomed, the actual perpetrator, unable to maintain his ground in Herat, escaped to Cashmere. Futteh Khan, either too confident of his power, or conscious that he could clear himself from all share in the atrocities perpetrated by his brother, was thrown off his guard, and was only returning from the expedition when he found himself a prisoner in the hands of his most inveterate enemy. This was Prince Kamran, the heir-apparent to the throne, who lost no time in becoming himself the executioner of vengeance, by putting out Futteh Khan's eyes with the point of his dagger. This was only the first in the series of barbarities about to be inflicted on him. His brothers had all fled, and it was thought possible that as the loss of his eye-sight had terminated his own career, he might be induced to use his influence with them, and recommend their unqualified submission. His spirit, however, was unbroken, and he steadily refused everything that was asked of him. It now only remained for his enemies to do their worst, and he was brought into a tent, where, in presence of Shah Mahmoud and his son, he was literally cut to pieces, not by a sudden onset, but by successive mutilations, slowly and deliberately perpetrated by the most vindictive of his enemies, one cutting off his right ear, and at the same time taunting him with some real or imaginary offence, of which it was declared to be the punishment, another his left ear, another his nose. With the same horrid barbarity his arms and feet were severed from his body, till at last the finishing stroke was given by drawing a sabre across his throat

A D. 1816

Barbarities
inflicted on
Futteh
Khan

It is almost needless to say that this frightful crime was not permitted to escape the vengeance which it provoked. The Barukzye brothers at once mustered their forces, and after a series of encounters, obliged Shah Mahmoud and Prince Kamran to abandon all their other territories and take refuge in Herat. This was now the only stronghold that remained to them, while the Barukzyes no longer making any profession of allegiance to the Sudozye dynasty, broke up the monarchy into fragments, and began to rule as independent sovereigns. Had they remained united they might have defied any force that could have been brought against them, but their mutual ambition soon gave rise to competing claims which could not be settled without an appeal to arms. In the division of the monarchy Azim Khan retained possession of Cashmere, of which he had for some time been governor; Shere Dil Khan seated himself at Candahar; and Dost Mahomed Khan, having as much by treachery as by skill and prowess captured Cabool, claimed it as his own by right of conquest. The division which circumstances rather than choice had thus made between the Barukzye brothers could scarcely be regarded as equitable. Azim Khan, who, as the eldest surviving brother, was the proper representative of the family, refused to rest satisfied with a disturbed province, while Dost Mahomed, who was not only the youngest of the family, but in consequence of the low birth

Successor
of the
Barukzyes.

A D 1818

Dissensions
among the
Barukzyes

of his mother had with difficulty been recognized as a member of it, occupied the capital. In these circumstances there could be little unanimity between the brothers, though it was foreseen that their dissensions would make it almost impossible for them to maintain the ascendancy which they had usurped. Indeed, they appear to have abandoned the idea of independence; for Dost Mahomed, when threatened with expulsion from the capital, endeavoured to secure himself by a nominal restoration of the Sudozye dynasty, in the person of Sultan Ali; and Azim Khan, when preparing to march from Cashmere, made an offer of the crown to Shah Shujah, who could not resist the temptation, and set out in 1818 to try his fortune once more in Afghanistan. In consequence of all these competing claims the country was thrown into a state of anarchy, and it was some time before anything like regular government could be re-established.

Shah
Mahmoud's
abortive
expedition
against
Cabool.

The usual bad fortune of Shah Shujah attended him. He had scarcely joined Azim Khan with such troops as he could raise, than a quarrel ensued, and he was again compelled to save himself by flight. Azim Khan immediately set up another puppet Sudozye sovereign in the person of Prince Ayoot, and continued his march on Cabool. Meanwhile, Dost Mahomed was threatened with a still more formidable danger from another quarter. The dissensions of the Barukzyes had not been lost upon Shah Mahmoud, who had left Herat at the head of an army, and was advancing in the hope of regaining the capital. To all appearance he was destined to succeed. Dost Mahomed, threatened by two armies, either of which was more than a match for all the troops he could muster, had abandoned all hope of resistance, and only waited the nearer approach of the enemy to commence his flight, when he was surprised and delighted to learn that it had become unnecessary. Shah Mahmoud when six miles off Cabool discovered or suspected an extensive conspiracy to betray him, and listening only to his fears hastened back to Herat. The Barukzye brothers, now convinced that their continued hostilities could only issue in their destruction, came to terms, and a new division was made, by which, under the nominal sovereignty of Ayoot, Azim Khan as his prime minister took possession of Cabool, Dost Mahomed retired to Ghuznee, Shere Dil Khan remained at Candahar, and Sultan Mahomed, another of the brothers, was put in possession of Peshawer.

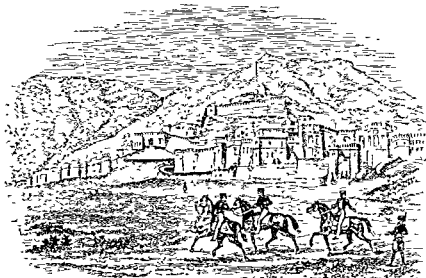
Hostilities
between the
Barukzyes
and Sikhs

During the apparent tranquillity obtained by this arrangement Azim Khan engaged in hostilities with the Sikhs. Runjeet Sing had made himself master of Cashmere, and entered into an arrangement by which, while he left it nominally independent, he became virtual sovereign of Peshawer. To repel and punish these aggressions Azim Khan mustered a large force and commenced his march. Had the issue depended on military prowess it is probable that he would have succeeded; but Runjeet Sing instead of fighting had recourse to a weapon which had seldom failed him, and so dexterously availed himself of the

jealousies and heart-burnings which he knew to be still at work in the breasts of the Barukzye confederates, that Azim Khan, when he was pluming himself with the hope of victory, saw his force suddenly melt away. The disappointment was greater than he was able to bear, and shortly afterwards, in 1823, he died of a broken heart. A D. 1823.

Prince Ayoot was still the nominal sovereign of Cabool, but in the confusion occasioned by Azim Khan's death, he was easily set aside, and the contest for supremacy was once more renewed among the Barukzye chiefs. Habiboolah Khan, Azim Khan's eldest son, was at first acknowledged as his successor, but he had none of his father's talents, and soon made himself contemptible by a life of dissipation; and by tyranny and caprice alienated those who were best able and were most disposed to befriend him. Dost Mahomed, who had played a leading part in the treachery which proved fatal to Azim Khan, was the first to

Troubled
state of Af-
ghanistan



THE BALA HISSAR, CABOOL.—From Sale's Defence of Jelalabad

take advantage of the worthlessness of his son, and after succeeding in inducing his troops to abandon him in the open field, compelled him to shut himself up within the Bala Hissar or citadel of Cabool. Here his resistance must have been of short duration had Dost Mahomed been left to deal with him in his own way. This, however, the other Barukzye chiefs would not permit, and Dost Mahomed, at the very moment when he thought himself sure of the prize, not only saw it elude his grasp, but was obliged to save himself by flight. The Candahar and Peshawer chiefs, who had on this occasion made common cause, were now masters of Cabool, while Dost Mahomed was a fugitive in Kohistan.

After another season of anarchy a truce was agreed to, Shere Dil Khan and Dost Mahomed returning respectively to Candahar and Ghuznee, while Sultan Mahomed, resigning Peshawer to some other brothers who held it in common with him, became sovereign of Cabool. The truce had been hollow at first, and

Hollow truce
between
Dost and
Sultan
Mahomed

A D 1833

Rapture of
the truce,

was ere long succeeded by another rupture. Shere Dil Khan died at Candahar, and the temporary arrangement which he had been mainly instrumental in effecting was immediately broken up. Dost Mahomed renewed his claims on Cabool, and Sultan Mahomed, afraid to encounter him, consented to resume his former position at Peshawer. This event, which took place in 1826, though it did not formally settle the question of supremacy between the Barukzye brothers, virtually gave it to Dost Mahomed. By leaving him in possession of the capital it procured for him a general recognition as sovereign of Afghanistan. For several years his title remained undisputed, and it rather appears that he proved himself by his conduct not unworthy of it. While endeavouring to establish order in the government he was not forgetful of his own personal deficiencies, and by diligence and perseverance both remedied his neglected education, and rid himself of not a few of the vicious habits which he had contracted in earlier life. As far as was practicable among a rude and turbulent population, justice was fairly administered, the weak were protected against the strong, and real grievances were carefully redressed. In following out this procedure it was often necessary to use the strong arm, and no small discontent was produced among those who, having been accustomed to practise oppression, thought themselves defrauded of their privileges when they were compelled to desist from it. The old Dooranee chiefs in particular, who, under the Sudozye dynasty, had in a great measure monopolized all the powers of government, were indignant at being curbed by an upstart ruler, and gave such decided evidence of their readiness to conspire against him, that they were not only regarded with disfavour, but not unfrequently treated with a severity which was neither necessary nor politic. The design obviously was to crush their spirit and curtail their power, so as to render them less capable of mischief. In this Dost Mahomed was not very successful, and hence he had always in the very heart of his dominions a powerful party ready to break out in rebellion the moment a hopeful leader should appear.

Treaty be-
tween Shah
Shujah and
Runjeet
Sing

This state of feeling in Afghanistan was well known to Shah Shujah, and led him to cherish a hope that, notwithstanding his repeated failures, he would yet be able to recover the throne of Cabool. The treatment which he had received from Runjeet Sing must have left little inclination again to court an alliance with him, but his circumstances did not allow him to be fastidious, and he therefore opened a negotiation with the ruler of Lahore. His proposals were readily entertained, but when the terms came to be more fully discussed, the sacrifices demanded in return for promised assistance were so exorbitant that Shah Shujah, helpless as he was, positively rejected some of them, and hesitated long before consenting to the remainder. At last, in March, 1833, a treaty was concluded by which the Maharajah (Runjeet Sing), in return for a vague promise to "furnish the Shah, when required, with an auxiliary force composed of Mahometans, and commanded by one of his principal officers as

far as Cabool," was confirmed in the possession of Cashmere, Peshawer, and all the other territories lying on either bank of the Indus, which he had succeeded in wresting from the Afghans. After entering into this treaty Runjeet Sing showed no inclination to perform his obligation under it. Shah Shujah waited in vain for the auxiliary force, and being at last thrown entirely on his own resources, endeavoured to raise two or three lacs of rupees by pledging his jewels. Even this was attended with much difficulty, and he endeavoured to secure the co operation of the British government. Here, however, from what he had previously learned, he had little to hope, and therefore, however much he may have been mortified, he could not have been greatly surprised when, in answer to his application, Lord William Bentinck, then governor-general, replied as follows: "My friend, I deem it my duty to apprise you distinctly that the British government religiously abstains from intermeddling with the affairs of its neighbours when this can be avoided. Your majesty is of course master of your own actions; but to afford you assistance for the purpose which you have in contemplation, would not consist with that neutrality which on such occasions is the rule of guidance adopted by the British government."

In the face of all these discouragements Shah Shujah determined to persevere. With a small body of troops, and a treasure chest, which would have been almost empty had it not been partially replenished with a sum which Lord William Bentinck, rather inconsistently with the above profession of neutrality, allowed him to draw as a four months' advance of his Loodiana pension, he proceeded southward in the direction of Shikarpoor, in order to profit by the assistance which the Ameers of Scinde had promised him. His subsequent adventures, how he quarrelled with the Ameers and defeated them, and how, after making his way to Candahar, he was himself defeated in 1834, and obliged to return as a fugitive to his asylum at Loodiana, having already been referred to among the memorable events which took place in India during Lord William Bentinck's administration, need not be again detailed. While Shah Shujah was making his attempt in Afghanistan, Runjeet Sing had despatched a body of 9000 men in the direction of Peshawer. As his treaty with Shah Shujah had been kept secret it was easy for him to disguise his real object, and Sultan Mahomed, the Barukzye chief, who had consented to hold Peshawer as a tributary of the Sikhs, on being assured that nothing more was intended than to levy the promised tribute, was thrown so completely off his guard, that the true character of his pretended friends was not made manifest to him till the city was in their hands, and he had no alternative but to save himself by an ignominious flight.

Dost Mahomed, equally exasperated by the mismanagement of his brother and the treachery of Runjeet Sing, had no sooner returned from the defeat of Shah Shujah than he prepared to attempt the reconquest of Peshawer. His hopes of success rested mainly on the fanatical spirit of his countrymen, who,

A. D. 1834.

Treaty between Shah Shujah and Runjeet Sing

The latter makes himself master of Peshawer.

A D. 1837.

Dost
Mahomed
attempt to
recover
Peshawer

as Mahometans, held the Sikhs and the religion which they professed in utter detestation. To give effect to this feeling, a religious war was proclaimed, and thousands and tens of thousands, many of them from distant mountain tribes flocked to the standard which Dost Mahomed had raised, under the assumed title of Commander of the Faithful. This host, estimated merely by its numbers was overpowering, but besides its want of discipline, which would have made it incapable of resisting such regular troops as the Sikhs had now become under the training of French officers, it was headed by leaders who had no common interest, and were openly or secretly at enmity with each other. It was indeed the very kind of army which no man knew better than Runjeet Sing how to defeat without the necessity of fighting with it. Pretending a desire to negotiate, he despatched an envoy to the Afghan camp. The nature of the instructions he had received may be gathered from the account which he afterwards gave of his proceedings: "I was despatched by the prince as ambassador to the Ameer. I divided his brothers against him, exciting their jealousy of his growing power, and exasperating the family feuds with which, from my previous acquaintance, I was familiar, and stirred up the feudal lords of his durbar with the prospects of pecuniary advantages. I induced his brother Sultan Mahomed Khan, the lately deposed chief of Peshawer, with 10,000 retainers, to withdraw suddenly from his camp about nightfall. The chief accompanied me towards the Sikh camp, whilst his followers fled to their mountain fastnesses. So large a body retiring from the Ameer's control, in opposition to his will, and without previous intimation, threw the general camp into inextricable confusion, which terminated in the clandestine rout of his forces without beat of drum, or sound of bugle, or the trumpet's blast, in the quiet stillness of midnight."

Causes of its
failure.

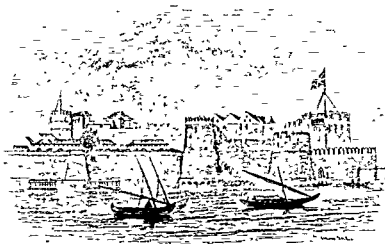
The above account given by the envoy, an English adventurer of dubious antecedents, and evidently also of blunted moral perceptions, is probably too laboured and rhetorical to be strictly accurate, but there can be no doubt as to the result. On the previous evening the Afghan camp contained 50,000 men and 10,000 horse; at daybreak not a vestige of it was seen. Dost Mahomed made good his retreat to Cabool, and felt so disgusted and ashamed, both at the disaster which had befallen him and the mode of effecting it, that he seemed willing for a time to abandon war and devote himself to peaceful pursuits. But the choice was not given him. Sultan Mahomed, now openly leagued with the Sikhs, was meditating an attack on Cabool. As the most effectual means of frustrating this design, Dost Mahomed in 1837 despatched a force under the command of his two sons, Afzul Khan and Akbar Khan, to penetrate through the Khyber Pass, and take up a position so as to command the entrance to it from the east. In the execution of these orders they advanced as far as Jumrood, which is only about twelve miles west of Peshawer, and immediately laid siege to it. A Sikh force under Hurree Sing, Runjeet Sing's favourite general, advanced to its relief, and an encounter took place. The result was that the

The Afghan
camp com-
pletely
deserted.

Sikhs, after losing their general, who was killed on the spot, and sustaining severe loss, were obliged to retire and encamp under the walls of Jumrood. The young Afghan chiefs, proud of their achievement, were for pushing on to Peshawar, but their impetuosity, which might have cost them dear, was checked by the caution of a veteran officer who had accompanied them, and they returned to Cabool to celebrate their success, which fame had magnified into a victory. Dost Mahomed, though gratified above measure by the success of his sons, was not blinded as to the increasing difficulties of his position. The Sikhs were evidently bent on new encroachments; the Sudozye dynasty, still in possession of Surat, was only watching an opportunity to march again upon

A.D. 1837.

Victory
gained by
Dost Ma-
homed &
sons



SURAT—From Mrs Young's "Moslem Noble"

Cabool; Shah Shujah, too, after all his discomfitures, was still sanguine enough to hope for success; and treachery from within was continually threatening new revolutions. How were all these dangers to be met? The only plausible answer which Dost Mahomed could give was that he ought to endeavour to secure himself by a foreign alliance. Here there was not much room for choice. The only governments which seemed capable of giving him effectual support were the Persian on the west, and the British on the east. It was doubtful however if either the one or the other would be willing to afford it. The Shah of Persia was actually threatening Herat, and so far might be regarded as making common cause with Dost Mahomed, by attacking one of his most formidable rivals; but it was well known that the Shah's ambition carried him far beyond Herat, and that he meditated the conquest of it merely as preliminary to that of the whole of Afghanistan. There was therefore more cause to fear than to court him. On the other hand, an application to the British government was far from hopeful. Shah Shujah was living as a pensioner within the British territory, and had lately received prepayment of his pension, and been permitted to depart at the head of a body of troops for the avowed purpose

Dost Ma-
homed's du-
bious policy

A D 1824

of fighting his way to the crown of Cabool. What reason was there, then, to expect that any offer of alliance which Dost Mahomed could make would tempt the British government to pursue a different line of policy? Thus doubtful as to the success of any application for aid, he adopted the course which seemed to give him the best chance of success, and made friendly overtures to both governments.

Ascendency
of Russia
at Persian
court

By the subsisting treaties with Persia, the British government was bound, in the event of war arising between the Persians and Afghans, to maintain a strict neutrality, and not interfere in any way unless to mediate on the mutual request of both combatants. Subsequently when Russia had extended her conquests into Persia, and was threatening in fact to convert it into a Russian province, the policy which dictated the above neutrality ceased to be applicable to the actual circumstances. An extension of Persian was now considered to be only another name for an extension of Russian territory, and therefore, so far from being disposed to fulfil the obligation of neutrality, it had become a vital object with the British government to provide for the security of their Indian frontier by maintaining the integrity of Afghanistan. In consequence of this altered policy, a collision with Persia became imminent. Abbas Meerza, the heir-apparent to the Persian throne, after his disastrous campaigns against the Russians had convinced him of his utter inability to cope with them, was anxious to turn his arms in some other direction where he might be able with less risk to make new conquests that might in some measure compensate for recent losses. This ambition was naturally encouraged by Russian diplomatists, who saw how it might be made subservient to the views of their own government. For a time his choice of a field of enterprise alternated between Khiva and Herat. The latter was at last preferred, and in 1833 Mahomed Meerza, Abbas Meerza's eldest son, set out at the head of an army intended to capture Herat, which was regarded as the key of India, and thereafter extend its conquests still farther to the eastward.

The Shah's
attempt on
Herat.

This attempt upon Herat gave great uneasiness to the British government, and was made the subject of strong remonstrance by its ambassador at the Persian court, but as Russian influence was now completely in the ascendant the expedition was persisted in, and the siege of Herat actually commenced. Before much progress was made, an event took place which brought it abruptly to a close. Abbas Meerza died at Meshed, and Mahomed Meerza, fearing that his prospects of succeeding to the throne might in consequence be endangered, hastened back with his army, and succeeded in obtaining his nomination as heir. He had not long to wait for the succession, for his grandfather Futeh Ali, the reigning sovereign, died in the autumn of 1834, and left him in undisputed possession of the throne, which he ascended under the title of Mahomed Shah. Though circumstances had obliged him to raise the siege of Herat, the hope of conquering it had never been abandoned, and therefore a new

expedition was soon meditated. The capture of Herat was only to pave the way for other conquests, and Candahar, Ghuznee, and Cabool were to be successively attacked. Of these ambitious designs the Shah made no secret. They were openly talked of in his council, and it was even hinted that Persian sway might again be extended as far eastward as Nadir Shah had carried it. It was well known that in the schemes of conquest which the Shah was thus meditating, he was encouraged by Russian diplomatists, and therefore the British government deemed it high time to interpose, both by remonstrance and menace. In 1835 Mr. Ellis, the British ambassador, was instructed by Lord Palmerston, "especially to warn the Persian government against allowing themselves to be pushed on to make war against the Afghans." He obeyed his instructions, but was scarcely listened to. The Shah was determined to take his own way, and pointing to the terms of the subsisting treaty, had little difficulty in showing that the British were bound not to interfere with him. The intention to resume the expedition against Herat was distinctly avowed, and even the necessary preparations began to be made.

A D 1835

Designs of
Persia on
Herat

Such was the state of matters when Lord Auckland became governor-general. He had entered on his administration under a pledge, voluntarily given, that he would pursue a pacific policy, and there was as yet no reason to apprehend, notwithstanding some threatening appearances, that he would be tempted to abandon it. In 1836 Dost Mahomed, in addressing a letter of congratulation to the new governor-general, took occasion to express his earnest desire to enter into intimate relations with the British government. After referring to late transactions, and to the injuries which the Afghans had sustained from the treachery of the "reckless and misguided Sikhs," he continued thus: "Communicate to me whatever may suggest itself to your wisdom for the settlement of the affairs of this country, that it may serve as a rule for my guidance;" adding, "I hope that your lordship will consider me and my country as your own." This language, though certainly not intended to be interpreted literally, strongly evinced the anxiety of Dost Mahomed for a British alliance, and his willingness to make great sacrifices in order to obtain it; but Lord Auckland, instead of listening to his overtures, replied nearly in the very terms used by Lord William Bentinck to Shah Shujah. "My friend, you are aware that it is not the practice of the British government to interfere with the affairs of other independent states" Turning aside therefore from politics, after simply expressing a wish that the Afghans "should be a flourishing and united nation," he spoke of the navigation of the Indus, and intimated his intention to depute some gentlemen to Cabool to confer on commercial topics.

Lord Auckland's
land & pacific
policy.

Though Lord Auckland was not at this time prepared to make any political use of Dost Mahomed's overtures, he had begun to be apprehensive that his administration would not prove so peaceful as he had hoped. Writing Sir Charles Metcalfe in September, 1836, he says, "I share with you the apprehension of

A.D. 1836.

Difficulty
experienced
by Lord
Auckland
in carrying
out a pacific
policy

our being at no distant date involved in political and possibly military operations upon our western frontier: and even since I have been here, more than one event has occurred, which has led me to think that the period of disturbance is nearer than I had either wished or expected. The constitutional restlessness of the old man of Lahore seems to increase with his age. His growing appetite for the treasures and jungles of Scinde; the obvious impolicy of allowing him to extend his dominions in that direction; the importance which is attached to the free navigation of the Indus, most justly, I think, and yet perhaps with some exaggeration, from its value not having been tried; the advance of the Persians towards Herat, and the link which may in consequence be formed between Indian and European politics—all lead me to fear, that the wish which I have had to confine my administration to objects of commerce and finance, and improved institutions and domestic policy, will be far indeed from being accomplished. But, as you say, we must fulfil our destiny." These apprehensions, however, were still too vague to have produced any decided change in his measures, and in a despatch dated as late as 20th September, 1837, the directors, who had never dreamed of his abandoning a pacific policy, thus complimented him: "With respect to the states west of the Indus, you have uniformly observed the proper course, which is to have no political connection with any state or party in those regions, to take no part in their quarrels, but to maintain as far as possible a friendly connection with all of them." When this despatch was written, the policy which it lauded had been virtually, and was soon to be practically abandoned.

Travels of
Alexander
Burnes in
Central
Asia.

The commercial deputation, hinted at by Lord Auckland in his letter to Dost Mahomed, had not been forgotten. At its head was placed Alexander Burnes, who, subsequently to his arrival at Lahore with the present to Runjeet Sing, had earned new claims to the appointment. After repairing to Simla, and there reporting the result of his mission to Lord William Bentinck, he had made a long and perilous journey into Central Asia. Proceeding across the Punjab, and thence through Peshawar and Jelalabad to Cabool, where he spent a short time enjoying the hospitality of Dost Mahomed, he ascended the lofty mountain range of Hindoo-Koosh, entered the valley of the Oxus, and arrived at Bokhara. After remaining here two months he turned westward, passed the Persian frontier, visited the capital and several of the leading cities of that kingdom, and at last sailed from Bushire to Bombay. The governor-general having now returned to Calcutta, Burnes hastened thither to give the results of his observations. These seemed so important, that he was desired to embark for England, and communicate personally with the home authorities. The attention which he thus attracted was greatly increased by the book of travels which he published, and when the commercial mission began to be talked of, there was scarcely any doubt as to whom it ought to be intrusted. Burnes returned to India in 1835, and while on a mission to the Ameers

of Scinde, he was informed of the intention of Lord Auckland to send him to Afghanistan, and directed to proceed to Bombay to make the necessary preparations. These being completed he again took the route by Scinde, pushed on to Peshawer, and proceeding through the Khyber Pass, reached Cabool towards the end of September, 1837. The instructions given him were entirely of a commercial character. He had been selected, as a letter from Mr. Macnaghten, then secretary to the government, informed him, "to conduct a commercial mission to the countries bordering on the Indus, with a view to complete the re-opening of the navigation of that river, on the basis of the treaties lately concluded with the powers possessing territory on its banks." With this view he was first to proceed to the court of the Ameers of Scinde, and having made the desired arrangements with them at Hyderabad, sail up the river, first to Khyrpoor, and then to Mittun-Kote. Here he was to be met by Captain Wade, Lieutenant Makison, and an agent from Runjeet Sing, and select with them the best place "for the establishment of a mart or entrepôt, with reference to all the branches of trade proceeding down or across the Indus, and the means best suited for the establishment of an annual fair." At Peshawer and Cabool he was to "make inquiry into the present state of the commerce of those countries," "inform the merchants of the measures concerted," encourage them by all means "to conduct their trade by the new route," and invite them "to resort to the contemplated entrepôt and fair." After quitting Cabool he was to visit Candahar, keeping the above objects still in view, and finally return to Hyderabad by the route of the Bolan Pass and Shikarpoor. In conclusion he was requested to "have a strict regard to economy" in all his arrangements, which he would easily be able to do, "as parade would be unsuitable to the character of a commercial mission." The commercial character thus studiously enforced in Mr. Macnaghten's instructions was also the only subject of the letter which Burnes was commissioned to deliver from the governor-general to Dost Mahomed, whom it thus indoctrinates in political economy:—"To your enlightened mind it cannot fail to be obvious that commerce is the basis of all national prosperity, and that it is commerce alone which enables the people of one country to exchange its superfluous commodities for those of another, to accumulate wealth, and to enjoy all the comforts and blessings of civilized life. The general diffusion of these blessings and comforts among neighbouring nations is the grand object of the British government. It seeks for itself no exclusive benefits; but it ardently desires to secure the establishment of peace and prosperity in all the countries of Asia."

A D 1837.

Mr. Burnes' mission to Cabool.

Commerce its extensive object.

Though nothing could be more palpable than the strictly commercial character given to the mission, it is very doubtful if either Dost Mahomed or Mr. Burnes understood that it was to be so interpreted. In a private letter explaining the object of his mission to a friend, the latter says:—"I came to look after commerce, to superintend surveys, and examine passes of mountains,

A D 1837. and likewise, certainly, to see into affairs, and judge of what was to be done hereafter." As there is nothing of this in the formal instructions given him, it is reasonable to presume that some latitude had been allowed him, and that the name of commerce was meant to cover much more than it truly signifies.

Mr Burnes' mission a political one



SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.
From a portrait by D. Michie, R.A.

But for some such understanding nothing could have been more preposterous than some expressions which occur in the very first letter which he addressed to the government secretary at Calcutta. It was written on the fourth day after his arrival, and concludes thus:—"Up to this time my communications with the Ameer have been confined to matters of compliment and ceremony, but I shall take an early opportunity of reporting on what transpires at this court, merely observing at present, from what I have seen and heard, that I have good reason to believe Dost Mahomed Khan will set forth no extravagant pretensions, and act in such a manner as will enable the British government to show its interest

in its behalf, and at the same time preserve for us the valued friendship of the Sikh chief." The political diplomatist is here clearly revealed, while the reception given him by Dost Mahomed shows that he regarded him in the very same light. Had it been supposed that he had come merely to treat of commerce, would the Ameer's favourite son, Akbar Khan, been sent out to conduct him into the city "with great demonstrations of respect and joy;" and would the Ameer himself, when Burnes on the following day delivered his letter of credentials, have received the deputation "in a very flattering manner, with many expressions of his high sense of the great honour which had been conferred on him, and his at last having had the means of communication with an officer of the British government, for which he felt deeply grateful to the governor-general?" Such is the account given in the letter already mentioned, and it is impossible to read it without feeling convinced that both the Ameer and the British envoy were under the impression that they were about to discuss questions of a more interesting and vital nature than those of commerce.

The first interview, at which the Ameer allowed only Akbar Khan to be present, took place in the "interior of the harem," and "lasted till midnight." Burnes in accordance with the letter of his instructions opened with commerce, and dwelt on the advantages to be derived from throwing open the navigation of the Indus and the trade of Afghanistan. The Ameer listened with apparent

His reception by Dost Mahomed

interest, but another subject was occupying his thoughts. Unshackled commerce might doubtless in the long run prove a great source of wealth, but how was he to act in the meantime? The Sikhs had involved him in an expensive war, and treacherously dismembered the Afghan monarchy by seizing upon Peshawer. While thus involved in war, and crippled in his resources, he had no alternative but to raise a revenue by any means, however injudicious in themselves, which promised to be most effectual; and therefore it was impossible for him, till placed in better circumstances, to lighten the burdens under which commerce was said to be suffering. The object of the Ameer evidently was to ascertain whether there was any hope that the British would assist him in obtaining the restoration of Peshawer, or mediate between him and Runjeet Sing, for the purpose of preventing future encroachments and securing a lasting peace. In regard to the former alternative Burnes could not hold out any hopes. Runjeet Sing was an ancient and valued ally of the British government, and therefore, if anything was to be done in regard to Peshawer, it could only be in the way of friendly advice. Such being the case, the true policy of Dost Mahomed would be to abandon all idea of a conflict, to which his resources were inadequate, and think only of a peaceful arrangement. The Ameer at once assented, and went so far as to add, that "instead of renewing the conflict it would be a source of real gratification, if the British government would counsel me how to act; none of our other neighbours can avail me; and in return I would pledge myself to forward its commercial and political views."

A D. 1837.

Mr. Burnes' first interview with Dost Mahomed

The political turn thus given to the mission it continued ever after to retain, and apparently with the concurrence of all parties. At a subsequent interview on the 4th of October, 1837, Dost Mahomed, returning to the sore subject, the loss of Peshawer, assumed an appearance of humility which could hardly have been sincere, and expressed his readiness, if so advised by the British government, to apologize to Runjeet Sing for the past, and to receive back Peshawer, not as his right, but as a free grant, to be held by him as tributary to Lahore. Burnes had no instructions which would authorize him to give this advice, and was, moreover, aware that it would have been useless, as Runjeet Sing, who had begun to grudge the heavy expenditure to which the possession of Peshawer subjected him, was disposed to restore it, if he restored it at all, not to Dost Mahomed, but to his brother Sultan Mahomed, who was in possession of it when it was seized by the Sikhs. Owing to the hostile feelings with which the brothers regarded each other, Dost Mahomed considered that he would gain nothing at all by such an arrangement, and the subject was dropped.

His conference with him on the subject of Peshawer

Burnes seems now to have almost entirely lost sight of commerce, and filled his letters to the government secretary with political details. One written on the same day when the above interview took place begins thus: "I have now the honour to report the result of my inquiries on the subject of Persian influ-

A D 1837.

Arrival of a
Persian
ambassador
at Candahar

ence in Cabool, and the exact power which the Kuzzilbash, or Persian party resident in this city, exercise over the politics of Afghanistan," and after a lengthened disquisition thus concludes: "The Shah of Persia has not been slow in responding to Dost Mahomed Khan's desire for an alliance; an *elchee* has been sent with robes and presents in return, and is now at Candahar, but he has appeared at a time most unfavourable to his master, when the attention of the British government is directed to Afghanistan, which goes far to discredit him with all parties, and even to damp the hopes of the Kuzzilbashes. It is even doubtful if he will advance to Cabool, and it is certain if he does so that any offers which he may make will never be placed in the balance against those of the British government. The King of Persia desires to add Herat to his dominions, and the chiefs of Candahar and Cabool might certainly aid him in his designs, but the probabilities of a return for such good offices are more than doubtful.'

Proposed
Persian alliance
with the Afghans

The Persian alliance referred to in the above extract was now attracting much attention. As it would have been equivalent to an alliance with Russia, it naturally excited considerable alarm in the British government, and Burnes, aware of the anxiety felt in regard to it, was careful to ascertain exactly how it stood. Dost Mahomed Khan, when the subject was broached, "stated with considerable candour the whole circumstances regarding it; declared that he had sought with ardour the friendship of the British government, from its being his neighbour, but he had sought in vain, and hearing of the power of Persia and the designs towards Khorasan, he had addressed Mahomed Shah, and an *elchee* was now at Candahar bringing robes for him and his brother, with a valuable dagger, and a promise of assistance in a crore of rupees." The Ameer, notwithstanding the "considerable candour" for which Burnes gives him credit, was evidently playing a double game, and endeavouring, by means of a proposed Persian alliance, to provoke the jealousy and awaken the fears of the British government. He accordingly recurred repeatedly to the subject, and showed how well he was acquainted with its bearings by putting questions concerning "the relations between the British government and Russia, the influence of Russia over the dominions of Turkey," and "the control which Russia exercised over the trade in Turkestan." At the same time he declared his decided preference for a British alliance, and urged his brothers at Candahar to unite with him in endeavouring to secure it. In a letter which he appears to have communicated to the British envoy, he thus explains his policy, and remonstrates against their desire to connect themselves more closely with Persia. "We have some hopes regarding Peshawer. It is well known to the world that the power of the Sikhs is nothing in comparison with that of the English, and if all our objects be obtained through that power so much the better." Again, "For these few days past no letter has come direct from you, but from the contents of letters from Mr. Burnes and others I learn that on

the information of a Persian army coming to Herat, you are going to send your son Mahomed Omar Khan along with the Persian elchee to the Shah. This has astonished me very much, because you never did anything before without my advice: and what fruits do you hope to reap by sending your son to Persia? If the British would not be friendly, then you might make friendship with others: the former are near to us, and famous for preserving their word; the latter are nothing in power compared to them."

A D. 1837.

The letter from which the above extracts are given was in all probability not only communicated to Burnes, but suggested, if not dictated by him. It was written on the 25th October, 1837, and he had the very day before, in replying to a letter addressed to him by Kohan Dil Khan, the Candahar chief, used the following language: "It is known to you that I came to this quarter with good intentions towards all parties, and particularly to converse with all the members of your family; and I have received a very friendly reception at Cabool. At this time I hear from various quarters that you are sending your son to Iran (Persia). When I look to the contents of your letter, and to this step, I do not understand matters, and believe that some person has been deceiving me. It is not possible to hold two water-melons in one hand; unanimity in families is a great source of power, family differences are the certain cause of evil; and foreseeing as much as the feeble intellect of man can do into futurity, I see no good in the step you now contemplate; even I see that the fruit of the matter will be nothing but repentance and loss; and wishing you well, I have thought it proper to warn you." Not satisfied with thus denouncing an alliance with Persia, Burnes had at the same time ventured to assure Dost Mahomed that "if he succeeded in preventing Kohan Dil Khan from acting as he intended, it could not fail to be received as a strong mark of his desire for our friendship."

British objections to alliance of Persia and Afghanistan.

Burnes, though apparently still unprovided with any other than his original commercial instructions, had thus thrown himself into the very heart of a political intrigue. The fact was known to his government, and so far from being objected to, appears rather to have been regarded with approbation. The mission had accordingly assumed a character entirely different from that originally impressed upon it. This change was mainly owing to the discovery of Russian intrigues. Their influence at the Persian court was well known, but the extent which it had acquired in Afghanistan was scarcely suspected. The expedition against Herat by Mahomed Shah had again been actually undertaken, and while this step gave umbrage to the British government, from knowing that it was truly more a Russian than a Persian scheme of aggrandizement, the startling discovery was made that a Russian agent was journeying directly toward Cabool. On the 14th of October, 1837, a letter was received from Colonel Stoddart, then with the Persian camp near Nisapur, stating that "Captain Vikovich of the Russian service, an aide-de-camp

Russian intrigues in Afghanistan.

A.D. 1837.

Russian intrigues in Afghanistan

of the general of Orenburg, arrived here from Teheran and Resht on the 10th instant. He is gone on a mission to Cabool. Horsemen have been given to pass him to Toorbut, thence a change to Khain, thence again to Lash, from thence to Candahar. He left yesterday." The first movements of this mysterious agent were ascertained rather curiously. Major Rawlinson had set out with a small party to join the Persian army, now in full march upon Herat, and after accomplishing a distance of 700 miles, had set out on his last day's journey, when, to his astonishment, he came upon a party of horsemen in Cossack dresses, and among them one who was recognized to be a servant of



DOST MAHOMED KHAN.—From Grant's Oriental Records.

the Russian mission. On reaching the next stage Major Rawlinson, whose curiosity was naturally excited, endeavoured to gratify it, but the Russian party, on arriving shortly after, and learning that a British officer was there, declined to enter the khan, and rode off. This desire of concealment added of course to the curiosity already felt, and the major, following as close as possible upon the track, came at length upon the party seated at breakfast beside a rivulet in a gorge of the hills. It was now impossible to avoid an interchange of civilities, but the officer at the head of the party dexterously avoided conversation by pretending ignorance of the different languages in which Major

Rawlinson addressed him. He knew no French, no Persian, and answered only in Russian. At length a kind of conversation was kept up in Turcoman, but so broken that the major could learn nothing more than that he had fallen in with "a *bona fide* Russian officer carrying presents from the emperor to Mahomed Shah." Major Rawlinson continued his journey, and had been only two days in the camp when the Russian made his appearance, and was introduced to him by the Russian ambassador as Captain Vikovich or Viktavitch. He now spoke French fluently, and when rallied by the major on this sudden acquirement, only observed with a smile that "it would not do to be too familiar with strangers in the desert."

Arrival of special Russian agent

This Russian agent made his appearance in Cabool on the 19th of December, 1837. Burnes had previously received a notification of his approach from a correspondent at Candahar, and on the very day of his arrival was visited by Dost Mahomed, who "came over from the Bala Hissar with a letter from his son the governor of Ghuznee, reporting that the Russian agent had arrived at

that city on his way to Cabool." The Ameer, professing that he had come to Burnes for counsel, declared "that he wished to have nothing to do with any other power than the British; that he did not wish to receive any agent of any power whatever so long as he had a hope of sympathy from us; and that he would order the Russian agent to be turned out, detained on the road, or act in any way I desired him." Burnes gave judicious advice. After observing that he could not "advise him to refuse any one who declared himself duly accredited," he told the Ameer that he "had it in his power to show his feeling on the occasion by making a full disclosure to the British government of the errand on which the individual had come." He immediately agreed to this, and put Burnes in possession of the different documents that came into his hands. Two of these from native agents are so far interesting as showing the impression produced by the arrival of Vikovich, and the opinion formed of his character. The first communication, dated from Candahar, says, "An elchee arrived here from Russia. Leaving the rarities of that country in Teheran, he came to the camp of Mahomed Shah Kajar, and after seeing his majesty he passed through Birjird Jawer, Lash, and Seistan, on way to Ahmed Shahu (Candahar). He is a man of Moscow, and stands high in the favour of the emperor. The Russian ambassador at Teheran has sent a list of the presents, with his letter to the Sirdars, which this elchee left in his charge on account of the disorders of the road between Teheran and Candahar. As he looks a confidential person, I think he will do everything for the Sirdars." The second communication was sent direct to Dost Mahomed by Moolla Reshid, the counsellor of Kohan Dil Khan, chief of Candahar, and after intimating the arrival of Vikovich, and that he is "the bearer of letters from the Russian ambassador at Teheran," continues thus: "The Russian ambassador recommends this man to be a most trusty individual, and to possess full authority to make any negotiation. Captain Burnes will undoubtedly comprehend the real motives of this elchee. The conduct and appearance of this man seem to infer that he possesses no less dignity and honour than Captain Burnes, and whatever arrangements he may make will be agreeable to the Russian ambassador. You have now both the English and the Russian ambassadors at your court. Please to settle matters with any of them whom you think may do some good office hereafter."

A D 1837.

Interview
between
Dost Ma-
homed and
Mr. BurnesRussian
intrigue.

The other documents furnished to Burnes by the Ameer were a letter which he had himself sent by his agent Hajee Hoosain Ali, to the Emperor of Russia, about the beginning of 1836, a letter or *ruckum* addressed to the Ameer by Mahomed Shah, and the letter which Vikovich delivered from the Russian ambassador at Teheran on arriving at Cabool. The Ameer's letter to the czar is not unworthy of quotation. It was as follows:—"There have been great differences and quarrels between myself and the royal house of the Sudozyes. The English government is disposed to support Shujah-ul-Moolk. The

A D 1837.

Letter of
Dost Ma-
hommed to
the Czar of
Russia

whole of India is governed by them, and they are on friendly terms with Runjeet Sing, the lord of the Punjab, which lies in their neighbourhood. The British government exhibit no favourable opinions towards me. I with all my power have always been fighting with the Sikhs. Your imperial government has made friendship with the Persians; and if your majesty will be graciously pleased to arrange matters in the Afghan country, and assist this nation (which amounts to twenty lacs of families), you will place me under obligations. I hope your imperial majesty will do me the favour by allowing me to be received, like the Persians, under the protection of the government of Russia, under your royal protection. I can perform along with my Afghans various praiseworthy services." The Shah's letter proceeded thus:—"Agreeably to my affection and kindly feeling towards you, I wish to bestow great favours on you, and anxiously wait to hear from you. In these days the respectable Captain Vikovich having been appointed by my esteemed brother the Emperor of Russia to attend your court, paid his respects on his way, stating he had been honoured by his imperial majesty to deliver some messages to you; on this I thought it incumbent on me to remember you by the despatch of this ruckum, to convince you that your well-wishers are deeply engraven in my mind. Considering the favours of my majesty attached to you, let me hear occasionally from you, and by rendering good services you will obtain the protection of this royal house." The letter of Count Simonich, the Russian ambassador at Teheran, contained the following passages:—"The respectable P. Vikovich will wait upon you with this letter. Your agent, Hajee Hoosain Ali, has been attacked by a severe illness, and therefore he stopped at Moscow. When the intelligence of his bad health was conveyed to the emperor, a good physician was ordered to attend, and cure him as soon as possible. On his recovery I will not fail to facilitate him on his long journey back to Cabool. Knowing your anxiety to hear from this quarter I have hastened to despatch the bearer to you. He was ordered to accompany your agent to Cabool. I hope on his arrival at your court that you will treat him with consideration, and trust him with your secrets. I beg you will look upon him like myself, and take his words as if they were from me. In case of his detention at Cabool you will allow him often to be in your presence; and let my master know, through me, about your wishes, that anxiety may be removed." The letter concludes with an enumeration of "some Russian rarities," which the ambassador would take the first opportunity of forwarding, as the bearer, P. Vikovich, from being lightly equipped, was unable to take them with him.

Letter from
the Russian
ambassador
at Teheran
to Dost Ma-
hommed

Besides the above letter from the Russian ambassador, Vikovich is said to have been the bearer of a letter from the emperor himself, in which he expressed his great delight at receiving, and his high gratification on perusing the letter of the Ameer. Its contents "prove that you are my well-wisher, and have friendly opinions towards me; it flattered me very much, and I was

satisfied of your friendship to my everlasting government. In consequence of this, and preserving the terms of friendship (which are now commenced between you and myself), in my heart, I will feel always happy to assist the people of Cabool who may come to trade into my kingdom." The genuineness of this letter is denied, and we are disposed to think on sufficient grounds; but whether genuine or not, there was certainly enough in the other documents to cause alarm and give umbrage to the British government. In January, 1837, Lord Palmerston, having received a number of despatches from the British minister at the court of Persia, in which it was again and again stated that the Russian minister there had urged the Shah to undertake a winter campaign against Herat, deemed it necessary to instruct the Earl of Durham, then ambassador at St. Petersburg, "to ask Count Nesselrode whether Count Simonich is acting according to his instructions, in thus urging the Shah to pursue a line of conduct so diametrically opposed to his Persian majesty's real interests." Should Count Nesselrode sanction Count Simonich's proceedings, the Earl of Durham was then to represent "that these military expeditions of the Shah are in the highest degree unwise and injurious," but as Count Simonich's proceedings were "so contrary to all the professed principles and declared system of the Russian government," it must be assumed that he was acting without instructions; and in that case it would simply be necessary to declare the full confidence of his majesty's government, "that the Russian cabinet will put a stop to a course of conduct so much at variance with its own declared policy, and so adverse to the best interests of an ally for whom the Russian government professes friendship and good-will." Count Nesselrode disclaimed the proceedings of Count Simonich, though doubting if they had been fairly represented, and further stated, that he entirely agreed with the English government as to the folly and impolicy of the course pursued by the Persian monarch.

A.D. 1837.

Alarm taken
by the
British go-
vernment.Explanation
demanded
by British
ambassador
at St.
Petersburg.Disclaimer
by Count
Nesselrode

The above disclaimer was given by Count Nesselrode in February, 1837, and it became impossible to reconcile it with the course which Count Simonich continued to pursue, and more especially with the new course of intrigue in which he seemed about to engage, by sending Vikovich to Cabool. Burnes, who had the art of jumping somewhat hastily to a conclusion, addressed a long letter to the governor-general, in which, after dwelling on the "strong demonstrations on the part of Russia to interest herself" in the affairs of Afghanistan, he stated it to be his "most deliberate conviction, that much more rigorous proceedings than the government might wish or contemplate, are necessary to counteract Russian or Persian intrigue in this quarter, than have yet been exhibited." Lord Auckland took the matter more coolly, and replied through Mr. Macnaghten, that he attached "little immediate importance to this mission of the Russian agent." Burnes was therefore directed to suggest to the Ameer, that if Vikovich had not already left Cabool, he should "be dismissed

A.D. 1837

Russian intrigues in Afghanistan

with courtesy, with a letter of compliments and thanks to the Emperor of Russia for his professed kindness to Cabool traders. His mission should be assumed to have been, as represented, entirely for commercial objects; and no notice need be taken of the messages with which he may profess to have been charged." The British ministry when the subject was reported to them viewed it in a more serious light, and Lord Palmerston transmitted to the Marquis of Clanricarde, who had succeeded the Earl of Durham as ambassador at St Petersburg, the draft of a note to be presented to Count Nesselrode.

Lord Palmerston's note

This note, after stating "that events which have lately occurred in Persia and Afghanistan render it necessary for the British government to request from that of Russia, explanations with respect to certain circumstances which are connected with those events, and which have an important bearing upon the relations between Russia and Great Britain," dwells at some length on the common course of action which the two governments had agreed to pursue in regard to Persia, and the violation of this agreement by Count Simonich, who while the British envoy at Teheran "was preaching moderation and peace," was on the contrary "inciting to war and conquest." Count Nesselrode, when applied to, had at once declared, that if Count Simonich's conduct was as represented, he was not acting in accordance with but directly in the face of his instructions, and in proof of this, an offer was made by M. Rodofinikin the head of the eastern department in Count Nesselrode's office, to show the Earl of Durham the book in which all the instructions given were entered. At this time Count Nesselrode doubted the accuracy of the reports respecting Count Simonich's conduct, but these, the note proceeds to say, "have been fully confirmed by subsequent information. For not only did the prime minister of the Shah state that Count Simonich had urged his Persian majesty to undertake an expedition to Herat, but Count Simonich himself admitted to Mr. McNeill that he had done so; though he added that in so doing he had disobeyed his instructions." Nor had he stopped here. He had during the last twelve months advanced to the Shah the sum of 50,000 tomans, to "enable him to prosecute with vigour the war against Herat," and had also announced to him, that "if his Persian majesty should succeed in taking Herat, the Russian government would release Persia from the payment of the balance of its debt to Russia." Subsequently when the siege of Herat was in progress, and both Mr. McNeill the British minister and Count Simonich had arrived in the Persian camp, while the former, who had arrived first, was in hopes of terminating the war "in a manner satisfactory and honourable to both parties," the latter, "assuming a part the very reverse of that which the British minister had acted, appeared publicly as the military adviser of the Shah, employed a staff officer attached to the Russian mission to direct the construction of batteries, and to prosecute the offensive operations furnished a further sum of money for distribution to the Persian soldiers; and by his countenance, support, and advice, con-

firmed the Shah in his resolution to persevere in his hostilities." Passing from this subject the note proceeds to state, that the British government "possess a copy of a treaty which has been concluded between Persia and the Afghan ruler of Candahar, the execution of which has been guaranteed by Count Simonich, and the stipulations of which are injurious and offensive to Great Britain." The guarantee "contains a promise to compel Persia to defend the rulers of Candahar against attack from any quarter whatever," and though "in this stipulation no specific allusion is made to England," yet the intention might be inferred from the original draft of the treaty "which was less cautiously worded, and in which specific allusion was made to England, as one of the powers against whom assistance was to be given by Russia to the rulers of Candahar." Still more recently, a Russian agent of the name of Vikovich, "said to be attached to the staff of the general commanding at Orenburg, was the bearer of letters from the emperor and Count Simonich to the ruler of Cabool," and Count Simonich "announced to the Shah of Persia that this Russian agent would counsel the ruler of Cabool to seek assistance of the Persian government to support him in his hostilities with the ruler of the Punjab; and the further reports which the British government have received of the language held by this Russian agent at Candahar and at Cabool, can lead to no other conclusion than that he strenuously exerted himself to detach the rulers of those Afghan states from all connection with England, and to induce them to place their reliance upon Persia in the first instance, and ultimately upon Russia."

A D. 1837.

Lord Palmerston's
note

Notwithstanding the long extracts which have been already made from this note, the conclusion is too spirited and important to be omitted. "The British government readily admits that Russia is free to pursue, with respect to the matters in question, whatever course may appear to the cabinet of St. Petersburg most conducive to the interests of Russia; and Great Britain is too conscious of her own strength, and too sensible of the extent and sufficiency of the means which she possesses to defend her own interests in every quarter of the globe, to regard with any serious uneasiness the transactions to which this note relates. But the British government considers itself entitled to ask of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, whether the intentions and the policy of Russia towards Persia and towards Great Britain are to be deduced from the declarations of Count Nesselrode and M. Rodofinikin to the Earl of Durham, or from the acts of Count Simonich and M. Vikovich; and the British government thinks itself also justified in observing, that if from any cause whatever the Russian government has, subsequently to the months of February and May, 1837, altered the opinions which were then expressed to the Earl of Durham, then and in such case, the system of unreserved reciprocal communication upon Persian affairs which of late years has been established between the two governments, gave to the British cabinet a good right to expect that so entire a

Its spirited
conclusion.

A.D. 1837

Lord Palmerston's note relative to Russian intrigues in Afghanistan.

change of policy on the part of Russia, together with the reasons on which it was founded, would have been made known to her majesty's government by the cabinet of St. Petersburg, instead of being left to be inferred from the acts of Russian agents in Persia and Afghanistan. The undersigned (Marquis of Clanricarde) in conclusion is instructed to say, that her majesty's government is persuaded that the cabinet of St. Petersburg will see in this communication, a fresh proof of the anxious desire of the British government to maintain unimpaired the friendly relations which so happily subsist between the two countries, and to which the British government justly attaches so great a value; because explanations sought for with frankness, and in a friendly spirit, tend to remove misunderstandings and to preserve harmony between nations."

Count Nesselrode lost no time in transmitting a despatch to Count Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian ambassador at London, in which, after declaring that he did "not hesitate a single instant to meet the English cabinet with a frank and spontaneous explanation, in order completely to remove its apprehensions as to the intentions and views of our government with regard to the affairs of Asia," he made a very lengthened statement. "The idea," he said, "of assailing the security and the tranquillity of the state of possession of Great Britain in India has never presented itself and never will present itself to the mind of our august master. He desires only what is just and what is possible. For this twofold reason he cannot entertain any combination whatever directed against the British power in India. It would not be just, because nothing would have given cause for it. It would not be possible, by reason of the immense distance which separates us, the sacrifices which must be made, the difficulties which must be overcome, and all this to realize an adventurous scheme, which could never be in accordance with sound and reasonable policy. A single glance at the map ought to be sufficient to dissipate in this respect all prejudice, and convince every impartial and enlightened man that no hostile design against England can direct the policy of our cabinet in Asia." While maintaining that Mahomed Shah, "in determining to make war against Herat, was completely within the limits of his rights as an independent sovereign," he repeated the assurance formerly given that instead of urging him to such an enterprise, which in one view offered no chance of success, Russia had done all in her power to divert him from it, and to induce him "to prefer an amicable arrangement with the chief of Herat to a state of hostility indefinitely prolonged." Count Simonich had accordingly received a positive order "to employ all his credit with the Shah to dispose him to a formal accommodation." It was no doubt true that "on his arrival in camp Count Simonich, witnessing the distress in which the Persian army was, did not think he ought to refuse his assistance to the Shah when that sovereign earnestly entreated him to examine the works of the siege," but "even if the city of Herat had been forced to open its gates," our minister had suggested a pacific arrangement, by which "Herat would have

New disclaimer of the Russian government.

been given over to Kohan Dil Khan, chief of Candahar"—an arrangement which, "if it had actually taken place, would have had for its basis the independence of Afghanistan, by imposing upon the Shah the formal obligation in no way to assail the integrity of the country of which the Sirdars are actually in possession, nor the tranquillity of the tribes of which they are the chiefs." With regard to M. Witkewitsch (Vikovich), his mission to Cabool "was simply occasioned by the mission of an agent whom Dost Mahomed Khan sent to us in 1837 to St. Petersburg, with the intention of forming commercial relations with Russia." It had for its object "neither a treaty of commerce nor any political combination whatever which a third power could have reason to complain of or to take umbrage at. It has produced and was intended to produce but one result—that of making us acquainted with a country separated from our frontier by great distances, which oblige our government to increase our precautions, in order that the activity of our commerce should not run the risk of engaging there in ruinous enterprises without having been enlightened beforehand as to the chances to which it might be exposed."

A D. 1837.

Russian interference at Herat explained.

The strict accuracy and sincerity of this explanation were questionable, but an important step towards conciliation was made by the recall of Count Simonich, who was succeeded by Colonel Duhamel. Vikovich's proceedings met with a severer condemnation, and led to a more lamentable result. On reporting himself after his return to St. Petersburg, Count Nesselrode refused to see him, and sent a message to the effect that he knew no Captain Vikovich, except an adventurer of that name, who, it was reported, had been lately engaged in some unauthorized intrigue at Cabool and Candahar. The poor man, who had been anticipating praise and promotion, hastened home in a fit of despair and shot himself. Lord Palmerston had good reason to be satisfied with the result of his note. Besides procuring the dismissal of the offending ambassador, it had drawn forth from the Russian cabinet the strongest assurances that it did not harbour any designs hostile to the interests of Great Britain in India, and had not changed the policy which in 1834 the two powers had agreed to adopt; and it therefore only remained to say that "if such shall continue to be the policy of Russia, and if her agents in the East shall faithfully obey their instructions, there seems every reason to hope that nothing can hereafter occur in those quarters that can be calculated to disturb the good understanding between the two countries."

The explanation deemed satisfactory.

In following out this correspondence between the two governments to its close, the order of time has been somewhat anticipated, and it will therefore be necessary to go back a little in order to resume the narrative of events in Afghanistan. Dost Mahomed had, as we have seen, given strong and unequivocal proofs of his preference for a British alliance. His hope at first was that he would be completely secured from foreign aggression, and that Peshawar, on which his heart was set, but which he had now no prospect of being able to

A.D. 1833.

Negotiations
with the
Afghan
chiefsBritish
protection
promised
by Burnes.

reconquer, would be restored to the Afghan monarchy by an amicable arrangement. In this hope he was about to be grievously disappointed. Lord Auckland, though sufficiently alive to the dangers with which India seemed to be threatened from the west, was not yet prepared for more than friendly interference for the purpose of repelling them, and was therefore determined to avoid all entanglements which might oblige him to resort to warlike measures. The utmost which he was prepared to offer was advice to the Afghan chiefs, and in return for this he seems to have thought it not unreasonable to expect that they would devote themselves exclusively to British interests, and refrain from forming any alliances that might be adverse to them. The unreasonableness of such an expectation was so obvious that Burnes thought he might take it upon himself to disregard it; and accordingly, on finding that the chiefs of Candahar, who had previously been on the point of forming an alliance with Mahomed Shah, might be tempted to break with him, he did not hesitate to promise the protection of the British government against any attack to which they might thus expose themselves. His own account of the matter in a letter to a private friend is as follows:—"The chiefs of Candahar had gone over to Persia. I have detached them, and offered them British protection and *cash* if they would recede, and Persia attacked them. I have no authority to do so; but am I to stand by and see us ruined at Candahar?" He adds—"If the Persians move on Candahar, I am off there with the Ameer and his forces, and mean to pay the piper myself."

This was certainly a very extraordinary step to take without authority, and it cannot therefore excite much surprise to find that it was immediately repudiated. Burnes' letter intimating that it had been taken, was written on the 25th of December, 1837, and on the 20th of January, 1838, Lord Auckland, who was then at Bareilly, on his way to Simla, intimated his displeasure by a letter from Mr. Macnaghten. "It is with great pain that his lordship must next proceed to advert to the subject of the promises which you have held out to the chiefs of Candahar. These promises were entirely unauthorized by any part of your instructions. They are most unnecessarily made in unqualified terms, and they would, if supported, commit the government on the gravest questions of policy. His lordship is compelled, therefore, most decidedly to disapprove them. He is only withheld from a direct disavowal of these engagements to the chiefs of Candahar, because such disavowal would carry with it the declaration of a difference between you and your government, and might weaken your personal influence, and because events might in this interval have occurred which would render such a course unnecessary. But the rulers of Candahar must not be allowed to rest in confidence upon promises so given, and should affairs continue in the same uncertainty as that which prevailed at your last despatches, you will endeavour to set yourself right with the chiefs, and will feel yourself bound in good faith to admit that you have exceeded

Lord Auckland refers
to ratify
Burnes'
offer.

your instructions, and held out hopes which you find upon communication with your government cannot be realized." Burnes thus admonished and censured had no alternative but to retract his promises, and the Candahar chiefs, throwing themselves once more into the arms of Persia, concluded a treaty, which Count Simonich guaranteed, and the stipulations of which are described by Lord Palmerston, in a passage above quoted from his note, as "injurious and offensive to Great Britain."

A.D. 1838.

While the friendly ties by which Burnes hoped to have bound the Candahar chiefs were thus rudely snapped asunder, Lord Auckland pursued a course which almost looks as if it had been intended to produce a similar alienation in Dost Mahomed. In the very letter in which Burnes was rebuked, he instructs him to deal summarily with the Ameer, as if he were not an independent chief, but an humble dependant placed entirely at his mercy. "Should he," says his lordship, "seek to retain the agent (Vikovich), and to enter into any description of political intercourse with him, you will give him distinctly to understand that your mission will retire; that your good offices with the Sikhs will wholly cease; and that, indeed, the act will be considered a direct breach of friendship with the British government. It has been before at different times stated to you, that the continuance of our good offices must be entirely dependent on the relinquishment by the Ameer of alliances with any power to the westward." Nothing could be more dictatorial, and if it was really wished to conciliate the Ameer, nothing could be more preposterous than these instructions. For what were the good offices which his lordship was willing to undertake, and in return for which the Ameer was to bind himself indissolubly to British interests, to forego all alliances with neighbouring powers, and as a necessary consequence incur their displeasure, and risk their vengeance? Nothing more than to endeavour to persuade Runjeet Sing to refrain from making war on Cabool—a thing for which at the time he had neither the inclination nor the means. The Afghans themselves ridiculed the very idea, and when such good offices were talked of, could scarcely refrain from showing that they considered themselves insulted. What then must have been the feelings of Dost Mahomed, when the same messenger who brought Burnes his letter of rebuke, put into his hands a letter from the governor-general to himself, couched in such terms as the following?—"In regard to Peshawer, truth compels me to urge strongly on you to relinquish the idea of obtaining the government of that territory. From the generosity of his nature, and his regard for his old alliance with the British government, Maharajah Runjeet Sing has acceded to my wish, for the cessation of strife and the promotion of tranquillity, if you should behave in a less mistaken manner toward him. It becomes you to think earnestly on the mode in which you may effect a reconciliation with that powerful prince, to whom my nation is united by the direct bonds of friendship, and to abandon hopes which cannot be realized. The interference on your

Lord Auckland's
haughty
treatment
of Dost
Mahomed.

Unreasonable
sacrifices
demanded
from him

A.D. 1833.

Lord Auckland's supercilious letter to Dost Mahomed.

behalf, which my regard to yourself and for the Afghan people has led me to exercise, has hitherto protected you from the continuance of a war which would have been ruinous to you; and if you can establish equitable terms of peace with the Maharajah, you will enjoy, in a security which has long been unknown to you, ample means of dignity and honour, and the territory which is actually under your government. To lead you to hope for more than this would be to deceive you; and even for this object, though my good offices would be readily employed for you, I would always be careful so to act, as to consult the interests and honour, and obtain the concurrence of the Sikh sovereign, who is the firm and ancient ally of my country. I need not state to you that the English nation is faithful to its engagements, and true to its word. It is on this account that I have written plainly to you, that you may understand correctly the assistance which you may expect from me. This assistance also cannot be granted if you form any connection with other powers unsanctioned by the government. If you wish for its countenance and friendship, you must repose confidence in its good offices alone. Should you be dissatisfied with the aid I have mentioned from this government, which is all I think can in justice be granted, or should you seek connection with other powers without my approbation; Captain Burnes, and gentlemen accompanying him, will retire from Cabool, where his further stay cannot be advantageous; and I shall regret my inability to continue my influence in your favour with the Maharajah. I am persuaded that you will recognize the friendly feeling which has led me to state the truth to you, as you can guide your actions as you may consider most proper for yourself."

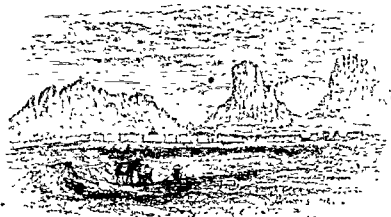
Every line of the above letter must have been gall and wormwood to Dost Mahomed, and it would not have been surprising had he, on the spur of the moment, taken Lord Auckland's supercilious advice, and done what he must now have considered most proper for himself, by breaking off the negotiation with the British government. He acted with more moderation, and was cordially seconded by his brother Jubbar Khan, who continued to argue after Lord Auckland's letter had made argument all but hopeless, and proved most convincingly that there was no proportion between what the British government offered and what was demanded in return for it. The whole letter, he said, betrayed great ignorance of the actual state of Afghanistan. The offer to restrain Runjeet Sing was worthless, since, so far from his seeking to attack Cabool, hostilities had been commenced by the Afghans, who, conceiving they had just ground of complaint, assumed the offensive. The British altogether overrated the value of their offers, when they expected that in return for them the Afghans would form no friendly relations with Persia, Russia, Turkestan, &c. Were they in furtherance of British interests to make all these powers hostile, and yet receive no promise of protection against the hostility thus provoked? Well might he conclude, that "the value of the Afghans had indeed been depressed, and he did not wonder at the Ameer's disappointment."

Jubbar Khan's views thereupon.

Up to this time, though the Ameer had declined to dismiss Vikovich, he had refrained from giving him any public countenance. He had, however, distinctly intimated to the British envoy, that the delay on the part of the governor-general to declare himself fully was exhausting his patience, and that as the interest which Russia had taken in him deserved acknowledgment, he was unable to wait longer than the vernal equinox. When Lord Auckland's letter was delivered, the disappointment which it produced could not be mistaken. The Ameer observed that "it was full of meaning;" that he would "reflect seriously on what best suited his interests, before he made any answer," and "would send off an express to Candahar, to take the counsel of his brothers on what so vitally concerned their common interest." The delivery of Lord Auckland's letter took place on the 23d of February, 1838, and from that date

A.D. 1838.

Untoward
results of
Lord Auck-
land's letter
to Dost
Mahomed.



CANDAHAR.—FROM FANE'S FIVE YEARS IN INDIA

Mr. Burnes must have seen that the fate of his mission was sealed." His impressions on the subject are given in a letter to Mr. Macnaghten, dated 5th March: "From various quarters I have meanwhile heard that the ruler of Cabool is but ill disposed to meet government in its wishes; and the advice given to him by one of the first individuals whose counsel he sought was, that he should take the British government at their word, and dismiss their agent, since there was nothing now to be expected from his presence in Cabool. From the receipt of the governor-general's letter to the present time nightly meetings have been held at the Bala Hissar; and the Ameer has on more than one occasion given vent to very strong expressions, both as to his future proceedings, and the disappointment at the slight degree of appreciation entertained by government regarding him. It seems very clear, though the final answer of Dost Mahomed Khan has not been received, that we have little hope of establishing a friendly connection with him on the terms wished by government."

Views of Mr.
Burnes.

The above letter had only been despatched when Mr. Burnes was visited by Jubbar Khan, who came from the darbar with a string of proposi-

A D 1838

New pro-
posals of
Dost Ma-
homed to
the British

tions, embodying the terms on which, if then agreed to, the Ameer would decide in favour of a British connection. They consisted chiefly "of a promise to protect Cabool and Candahar from Persia; of the surrender of Peshawer by Runjeet Sing; of the interference of our government to protect at that city those who might return to it from Cabool, supposing it to be restored to Sultan Mahomed Khan" The British envoy, as if he had now thoroughly imbibed the supercilious spirit of which Lord Auckland's letter had set him the example, took high ground. "I at once informed the Nawab that I would agree to none of the terms proposed; that I was astonished to hear a race as illustrious as the Dooraneees, who had carried their sword to Ispahan and Delhi, imploring protection against Persia; that as for Peshawer, it belonged to our ancient ally the ruler of Lahore, and he alone could surrender it; and that as for protecting those who returned from Cabool, supposing the Maharajah to make a settlement, it was an after concern which it was now useless to discuss, as well as the other matters stated, since the Ameer seemed so little disposed to attend to the views of the British government, and, what was of more importance, his own interests." Shortly after Jubbar Khan's departure, the envoy addressed a formal note to the Ameer, in which, after affirming that the only object originally proposed in the correspondence opened with the British government, was an arrangement with the Sikhs, whereas demands, "quite unconnected with the Sikhs" were now made, he stated that he "has no power or authority to speak on other matters, as is well known from his lordship's letter, and he would therefore be deceiving the Ameer by listening to them. Under these circumstances, as there is a Russian agent here, and he is detained by the Ameer's request, it is clearly evident that the Ameer does not approve of the offers of the British, but seeks the aid of others; Mr. Burnes feels it due to himself and his government, to ask leave in consequence to return to Hindoostan."

Negotiation
fruitlessly
continued

The Ameer, not yet prepared to relinquish the hope he had so long entertained of an advantageous British connection, sent two counsellors on the following day with proposals "somewhat modified," and "with many expressions of regret" at the resolute rejection of "all that had been urged." Ultimately after a long discussion, Captain Burnes accepted the Ameer's invitation to visit him at the Bala Hissar in the evening. In his account of the interview he says, "I lost no time in entering upon business, and said I was sorry to hear he had not taken the governor-general's letter in the spirit it was written, and that he had deemed it harsh, when the very fact of his lordship sending such a letter proved the interest taken in him, and that I had perused the document in English and Persian without finding a single expression to offend him. It was true it was a very explicit paper, but the Afghans were a nation famed for their straightforward proceedings, and it was most important to act toward him with a clear good faith, and let him know at once what might be expected of the British government." The Ameer's reply consisted chiefly of a reiteration

of his high admiration for the British government, and his willingness to make any sacrifice in order to secure its friendship. At last he even went so far as to say, "I throw myself upon the generosity of the Governor-general of India, and I rely on the sympathy which his lordship has expressed." "On this," says Burnes, "I congratulated the Ameer on his having seen his own interest better than to permit of friendship being interrupted between him and a nation so well disposed towards him; but that it was now my duty to tell him clearly what we expected of him, and what we could do in return. You must never receive agents from other powers, or have aught to do with them without our sanction; you must dismiss Captain Vikovich with courtesy; you must surrender all claim to Peshawer on your own account, as that chiefship belongs to Maharajah Runjeet Sing; you must live on friendly terms with that potentate; you must also respect the independence of Candahar and Peshawer; and co-operate in arrangements to unite your family. In return for this I promise to recommend to the government that it use its good offices with its ancient ally, Maharajah Runjeet Sing, to remove present and future causes of difference between the Sikhs and Afghans at Peshawer, but as that chiefship belongs to the Maharajah, he may confer it on Sultan Mahomed Khan or any other Afghan whom he chooses, on his own terms and tribute, it being understood that such arrangement is to preserve the credit and honour of all parties."

A D 1839

Negotiation
fruitlessly
continued
with Dost
Mahomed

Empty as these professions of friendship on the part of the British government must have appeared to the Ameer, he had the policy to speak of them as important concessions, and to request that they might be immediately reduced to writing, in order that he might "fairly see what is expected, and what is to be done in return." No written document being given at the time, he sent two of his counsellors a few days after to renew his request for it. It is difficult to see what use he could have made of it, but his anxiety made the British envoy suspicious, and he refused to commit himself. It is scarcely necessary to follow the negotiations further. On the 21st of March the Ameer made apparently a last effort to gain over the governor-general to his views, by addressing him in a letter which, consisting chiefly of unmeaning phrases and compliments, may be regarded as an Afghan mode of intimating that the negotiation was at an end. He says indeed, "To make known objects in the hope of profit to those personages who can do some good to the man in want, is consistent with propriety. Your lordship is the source of generosity and favour; therefore I take the liberty to repeat my grievances, expecting that your lordship will release the Afghans from distress, and enlarge their possessions;" and he concludes with saying, "As I rely on your lordship's favour, I have freely laid open my feelings in the hope of better fortune, since delays raise up fear of danger." How little these expressions conveyed his real sentiments was made apparent only two days afterwards, when he paid Captain Burnes a visit, and talked in a tone which he had never used to him before. "He stated that he had been received

Letter from
Dost Ma-
homed to
the gover-
nor general.

A D 1838.

Dost Ma-
homed's
statement
to Capt. John
Burnes.

by our government as no one; that his friendship was worth little; that he was told to consider himself fortunate at our preventing the Sikhs coming to Cabool, of which he himself had no fear; that he had applied to us for a cure of affairs in Peshawer, but our remedy was beyond his comprehension; and that though he felt honoured and grateful for the governor-general's sending a mission to him, he had now lost every description of hope from us; that he saw little or no probable benefit to the Afghans as a people, and less to himself." To all this Burnes could only reply "that our government had no desire to guide him, and if he did not approve of its offers, he need not accept of them."

Though the crisis was now evidently approaching, the British mission lingered for another month, and on the 21st of April had the mortification of seeing the Russian agent in the ascendant. On that day "he was conducted through the streets of Cabool, and received a greater degree of respect than had hitherto been shown him." On the following day, Burnes, still unwilling to believe that his mission was to terminate in failure, renewed his correspondence with the Ameer, not, he says, "from any hope that advantage could be derived from it in my negotiations, but to place as distinctly as possible before him how much he might have himself to blame for what followed." The Ameer in his reply, which was returned on the following day, made no secret of his intention to secure himself by new alliances. "Mankind," he observed, "have no patience without obtaining their objects, and as my hopes on your government are gone, I will be forced to have recourse to other governments. It will be for the protection of Afghanistan to save our honour, and, God forbid, not from any ill design towards the British." He concluded thus: "In making friendship with any government my object will be to save and enlarge Afghanistan; and during these last seven months I have told you everything of note, and you know the good and bad. Now I have consigned myself to God, and in this no government can blame me. All the Afghans will be grateful to the government which obliges them. There is no more to say which is not said. If you like to speak in person, or examine all the correspondence that has passed between us, there will be no objection. I am very much obliged to you for the trouble you took to come so far. I expected very much from your government, and hoped for the protection and enlargement of Afghanistan; now I am disappointed, which I attribute not to the ill favour of the English, but my own bad fortune. Creatures must rely on the Creator." Burnes understood this letter, as it was obviously meant to be, "a clear dismissal of the mission." On the 25th of April, he had by the Ameer's appointment his audience of leave; the following day he quitted Cabool, and by the 30th he had reached Jelalabad, from which he addressed a letter to Mr. Macnaghten, stating that he had received good information that the Ameer had been constantly with Vikovich since he himself left, and repeating as his "most deliberate conviction, founded on much reflection regarding the passing events

Final departure of the
British
mission.

in Central Asia, that consequences of the most serious nature must in the end flow from them, unless the British government applies a prompt, active, and decided counteraction." What this should be he does not venture to hint, but the subject was already engaging the earnest attention both of the Indian and the home governments. Their deliberations, almost unconsciously to themselves, gradually developed a gigantic scheme, which, neither founded in sound policy nor prosecuted with any due regard to the rights of other states, was justly punished by a disaster, to which the previous history of British India presents no parallel. Before entering on the details, some notice must be taken of the siege of Herat, and of the means by which that so-called key of India was prevented from falling into the hands of Persia.

A.D. 1837.

Deliberations of British government regarding Afghanistan.

CHAPTER III.

The siege of Herat—Lord Auckland's policy—Demonstration in the Persian Gulf—The Tripartite Treaty—The Simla manifesto—The army of the Indus—Invasion of Afghanistan.



ENCOURAGED by the Russian, and regardless of the remonstrances of the British ambassador, Persia had again resolved on the siege of Herat. Having made the necessary preparations, Mahomed Shah set out at the head of an army on the 23d of July, 1837. The distance to be accomplished exceeded 600 miles, across a country of a difficult and forbidding character. His progress was therefore necessarily slow, and nearly three months elapsed before he reached Nishapoor, still more than 200 miles to the north-west of Herat. As the difficulties of the country were however his only obstruction, he continued to advance, and in the beginning of November, having crossed the Afghan frontier, arrived at the fort of Ghorian, belonging to the Heratee territory. This was considered a place of great strength, and having recently been garrisoned with a large body of picked troops, was expected to make a protracted resistance. Through cowardice or treachery it proved otherwise, and Ghorian fell almost without a struggle. Elated with this success the Shah hastened forward, and on the 22d of November took up a position before Herat on a plain at a short distance to the north-west.

New Persian expedition against Herat.

The city now about to be subjected to a siege, stands in an elevated but beautiful and fertile valley, 370 miles nearly due west of Cabool. Its population was estimated at only 45,000, but its position near the point where the great routes from Persia, Turkestan, and India intersect each other, added greatly to its importance, both commercial and military. Its means of resist-

Position of Herat.

A D 1837

Defences of
Herat

ance were not very formidable. The defences consisted chiefly of a broad and deep ditch, well supplied with water from springs, which being situated within the town itself, could not be cut off; a mound, formed out of the materials obtained in excavating the ditch; a lofty wall of unburned brick crowning the mound, and a citadel, sufficiently strong to be capable of defence even if the city were taken. The wall was pierced by five gates, four of them giving access to as many leading thoroughfares. These intersected each other at a common centre, and thus left a large space which had a domed roof, and formed the terminus of the principal bazaars. The streets were narrow and filthy in the extreme.

Tyrannical
character
of its go-
vernment

Prince Kamran, who had succeeded on the death of his father, was now sovereign of Herat. In early life he had repeatedly given proof of a cruel blood-thirsty temper, and as he advanced in years had added other vices, which made him still less capable of conducting the government. Indulgence in every species of debauchery had made him feeble and indolent, and thrown all



MAHOMED, SHAH OF PERSIA
After a portrait by J. H. Twiss

real power into the hands of his prime minister. This was Yar Mahomed, a man of no mean talents, but utterly devoid of principle. His own interest was his only end, and his usual methods of promoting it were violence, oppression, and extortion. The inhabitants, while thus alienated from their rulers by misgovernment, were unhappily divided among themselves. Composed of different races, Afghans, Persians, Beloochees, &c., they had no common bond of union, and were even at deadly enmity on religious grounds, the two leading parties, though professed followers of Islamism, belonging to the hostile sects of Soonees and Sheeahs. In the quarrels and jealousies thus produced, the

Afghans being the dominant race had greatly the advantage, and tyrannized without mercy.

Where so much misgovernment and division prevailed, there was little reason to expect that Herat would make a successful defence, and the general impression therefore was that it would prove a comparatively easy conquest. It could only be on this ground that the British envoy, acting on instructions from home, had exerted himself to the utmost to prevent the Persian expedition from being undertaken. Not only had he remonstrated with the Shah and his ministers in terms approaching to menace, but he had also entered into

communication with Kamran, and urged him to save himself by timely concessions. The Heratee ruler, as if conscious of his inability to resist, had voluntarily adopted this course, and seemed ready to sacrifice everything except the barren name of independence. This however was the very thing which the Shah, with a view apparently to the furtherance of other ambitious schemes he was meditating, was determined to wrest from him, and the negotiation, after promising a peaceful issue, was abruptly terminated.

A.D. 1837.

Tyrannical
government
of Herat.

As soon as it became certain that the siege of Herat would be attempted, Yar Mahomed began to bestir himself, and even assumed a tone of defiance. In a letter addressed by him to Mr. McNeill, now British envoy at Teheran, he says, "Should the Persian government evince any great desire to come to Herat, do not prevent the advance of the army, or take any trouble in the matter. It is an affair of no consequence. Let them come, in order that they may prove what they are able to do. May it please God the merciful, by the grace and assistance of the Almighty, the steed of their wishes shall not accomplish the journey of their design." Nor did he confine himself to mere boasting. Foraging parties, sent out into the surrounding districts, brought home abundant supplies of grain, and at the same time carried off or destroyed everything that might have been of advantage to an invading army. Alliances were formed with mountain tribes, and plans arranged for cutting off the Persian communications. The defences, wherever they were dilapidated, were rapidly repaired, and everything wore the appearance of a vigorous defence. Among the circumstances which favoured it, one of the most important was the season at which the siege was about to be undertaken. The climate of Herat, like that of Afghanistan generally, was too severe to render a winter campaign advisable, and yet the Shah had been so long detained on his march, that unless he could succeed by a sudden onset, of which there was no probability, all his siege operations were to be commenced and carried on amidst the frosts and snows of a bleak and rugged mountain district. The obstacles with which the besiegers would on this account have to contend, were made apparent to themselves several days before they actually reached Herat. Their condition, while nine marches remained to be accomplished, is thus described by Mr. McNeill, in a letter to Lord Palmerston: "The whole of the provisions expected from the rear, and from the districts on the right of the line of march, did not exceed four days' consumption; and every mile the army advanced was carrying it so much farther from the means of subsistence. The cold was already so great, that the men had begun to suffer from it, and a Persian gentleman, in writing to his father, states, that at night the cold was so intense, that in the morning people could neither use their hands nor articulate distinctly."

Difficulties
of the
expedition
against
Herat

Notwithstanding actual and still greater foreseen difficulties, the Shah commenced operations with spirit. Having taken possession of all the gardens and inclosures to the west of the city, and obtained good cover among a cluster

A D 1878

Siege of
Herat com-
menced

of ruins, from which the Afghans endeavoured in vain to dislodge them, the Persians broke ground, and by the 10th of December had advanced their trenches nearly to the edge of the ditch. Their artillery, however, the arm in which they were supposed to be most powerful, was productive rather of fear than of danger, and failed to make any impression which could be turned to account. After the first few days of terror, caused by the loud and constant firing and the frequent bursting of shells in the heart of the city, the inhabi-



AFGHAN SOLDIERS IN WINTER COSTUME.
From History's Costume and Scenery of Afghanistan

tants gradually laid aside their fears, and recovered the presence of mind which they appeared at first to have lost. The garrison made bold and often successful sorties, and felt so confident of their ability to repel an assault, that three of the five gates remained open, for communication with the surrounding country, and even the cattle were sent out to pasture. The confidence thus inspired was owing in no small degree to the presence and activity of a young English officer, Eldred Pottinger, who having been sent by his uncle, Colonel (afterwards

Sir Henry) Pottinger, then resident in Scinde, on an exploratory tour in Afghanistan, was fortunately in Herat when the Persians made their appearance before it. Having no official appointment, he had at first professed to be only a horse dealer, and had afterwards assumed the disguise of a Syed or Mussulman devotee. In Herat, less necessity was felt for concealing his real character, and he was permitted at his own request to pay a visit to Yar Mahomed, who, after giving him a cordial welcome, introduced him to his master. From that time he obtained a recognized footing in Herat, and determined to take an active part in the struggle in which it was about to be engaged. His courage and skill were immediately put in requisition, and it was not long before he had become, at least in regard to military matters, one of Yar Mahomed's most influential advisers. As a lieutenant in the Bombay artillery, he had made himself well acquainted with siege operations, and was thus able to furnish the kind of information which the exigencies of the time required.

The siege proved very desultory, and furnished few incidents worthy of detail. In the beginning of January, 1838, some alarm was caused in the city by the mining operations of the besiegers, but after means had been taken to coun-

Services
of Eldred
Pottinger

teract them the garrison took new courage, and even prepared to take the initiative. The first proposal was to venture on a night attack. Owing to some mismanagement, after every preparation had been made, the intention was abandoned. The next proposal was to venture out by day, and risk a regular battle. This time it did not prove a feint. On the 26th of January, both cavalry and infantry, to the number of at least 7000, marched out into the plain. The Persians at once accepted the challenge, and an encounter took place, which was continued with varying success throughout the day. No decisive result was gained, but as the Heratees obliged the enemy to abandon their outposts and remained in possession of the ground thus abandoned, they claimed, and had certainly the best title to claim the victory.

A.D. 1838

Slow progress of siege of Herat

The above encounter, or rather series of skirmishes, had gone far to prove that besiegers and besieged were pretty equally matched, and that time, rather than prowess, would ultimately determine the result. The siege accordingly was continued in a very sluggish manner. The Shah indeed, who had previously spurned everything like fair accommodation, now betrayed an anxiety to treat, and made various overtures, which were rejected as inadmissible. Active operations again seemed to be the only alternative; and a considerable advantage had been gained by the besiegers by the capture of a fortified post not more than 300 yards from the north-east angle of the fort, when Mr. McNeill, the British envoy, arrived in the Persian camp. His object was to make a last effort at negotiation by offering to mediate between the combatants. He had an audience of the Shah on the 13th of April. It lasted two hours, and was so satisfactory that Mr. McNeill took his leave under the impression that the Shah was really disposed to accept of the proffered mediation. At a subsequent audience he actually accepted it, and it was publicly announced on the 16th of April that deputies were about to proceed from the Persian camp into Herat to arrange the terms. It is difficult to believe that the Shah was sincere, for only two days after, the Persians opened their batteries with more fury than ever.

Negotiations attempted

This hostile proceeding, at the very time when friendly mediation was professedly accepted, must have made Mr. McNeill very doubtful of ultimate success. He determined notwithstanding to persevere, and in the evening sent his deputy, Major Todd, to seek admission into Herat, for the purpose of explaining the proposed mediation. When the Persians from the trenches announced his approach, the Afghans replied with derision. Considering the circumstances, the hour was ill-timed, and almost justified the answer returned by Yar Mahomed, that at that hour he would not allow the Shah himself to enter, but that the English deputy, on presenting himself on the morrow at the south-east angle of the city, would be admitted. Very possibly there was a suspicion that the Persians wished to use the admission of Major Todd as a means of forcing an entrance for themselves, but Yar Mahomed himself gave

British mediation.

A D 1838

Attempt of
the British
to mediate
between the
Persians
and Afghans

the real explanation to Pottinger, when referring to the offered mediation, he said to him, "Don't be angry with me; I have thrown ashes on it and blackened its face myself." His meaning he explained, by adding that he wished the Persians to understand that the Afghans trusted to their good swords, and did not want either Turks, Russians, or English to interfere. He was by no means sincere in this declaration, though he regarded it as a piece of good policy, since it might tend to make the Shah lower his terms.

its failure

Major Todd on the following morning made his appearance at the place indicated, and being at once admitted, was ushered into the presence of Kamran, who received him with the greatest cordiality, and sent him back fully authorized to declare that he accepted of the mediation of the British minister. No sooner was Mr. McNeill in possession of this authority than he deemed it necessary to have a personal interview with Kamran and his minister. It took place on the 21st of April, and was every way satisfactory, as the greatest readiness was expressed to ratify any agreement which he might judge expedient. Everything seemed now in proper train, when an unexpected visitor appeared on the scene and completely changed the aspect of affairs. Just as Mr. McNeill left the Persian camp for Herat, Count Simonich arrived in it. The effect of his presence was at once seen. The Shah, retracting his previous consent to mediation, stated his ultimatum in such terms as the following:—"Either the whole people of Herat shall make their submission, or I will take possession of the fortress by force of arms, and make them obedient and submissive." Under these circumstances, Mr. McNeill contented himself with laying before the Shah a full statement of all the complaints which the British government had against him. Not only, though informed that it would be regarded as an act of hostility, had he persisted in commencing and carrying on the siege of Herat, but he had refused redress for gross insults which had been offered by his officers to members of the British mission. One of these, a courier, bearing letters from Herat to Teheran, addressed to Mr. McNeill, had been seized, under pretext of his being a native Persian, searched, pillaged, and threatened with summary execution. These things, which the Shah had allowed to pass with impunity, though the guilty perpetrators were well known to him and might easily have been brought to justice, made it impossible that friendly relations could any longer subsist between the two governments. The firmness of this language intimidated the Shah, and he again professed a willingness to do all that was asked of him; but after a course of vacillation, the Russians gained a complete ascendancy, and Mr. McNeill considered that he had no alternative but to put his threat in execution. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, he declared the British embassy to the Persian court at an end, and took his departure for the frontier.

Meanwhile, under the auspices, and it is said also through the largesses of Count Simonich, the siege was prosecuted with new vigour. The count himself

personally superintended the operations, and Russian engineers conducted them. The additional skill and energy thus brought to bear upon the beleaguered city greatly increased the miseries of its inhabitants, and the necessity of escaping from them by an acknowledgment of Russian supremacy as a preferable alternative to Persian domination, was openly discussed. Pottinger, whom Mr. McNeill had authorized to act as British agent in Herat, having now an official position, had acquired an additional degree of influence, and showed as much political wisdom as courage in his manner of exercising it. The struggle however seemed daily becoming more hopeless. In fair fight the Afghans were seldom worsted, and they had gallantly repulsed the only two assaults which had yet been attempted, but the most dangerous enemies were within—disease, famine, and general despondency. Encouraged by new prospects of success, the besiegers had resolved on one great effort. It was made on the 24th of June, under the form of a general assault, embracing five points at once. Though sufficient warning had been given of its approach, no adequate effort had been made to meet it, and it had at first all the effect of a surprise. Ultimately, however, the garrison, roused to redoubled efforts, repulsed the assaults at all points but one. In the mound on which the wall was reared were two *fausse braies*, an upper and a lower, which, though not considered important enough to be enumerated among the defences of the place, formed its best security during an actual assault. At one of the points attacked, the assailants forced their way into the lower *fausse braie*, and then pushing up the slope, carried the upper *fausse braie*, immediately beyond which was a practicable breach. Some of the storming party reached it, and the capture was on the point of being effected when the Afghan reserve arrived, renewed the conflict which other defenders had abandoned in despair, and drove back the assailants in confusion. The chief merit of this repulse undoubtedly belongs to Eldred Pottinger. The first noise of the assault had brought him and Yar Mahomed to the scene of action. Pottinger saw the extent of the danger, and, retaining all his coolness and presence of mind, pointed out what was necessary in order to avert it. Yar Mahomed, on the other hand, though his personal courage was undoubted, became completely unmanned, and sat down as if in despair. Pottinger, seeing that all was otherwise lost, succeeded in rousing him, and when he again lost heart, actually laid hold of him, and moved forward with him to the breach. There his presence and recovered energy once more changed the fortune of the day, and the Persians, repulsed at every point, retreated to their camp, with a loss which was estimated by Mr. McNeill, from the best information he could obtain, at not less than 1700 or 1800 men.

A D 1833.

Siege of
Herat re-
sumed under
Russian
auxiliaries

A grand
assault re-
pulsed

The Persians, though they had well nigh succeeded in the assault, had suffered too severely to have any inclination to repeat it; and the Afghans, as if more frightened at the danger they had run than elated at their success in repelling it, showed no inclination to assume the offensive. On both sides

A D 1838

A tacit
armistice
between the
Persians
and Afghans

therefore active operations ceased. When at last this tacit armistice terminated, there was a greater inclination than before to listen to terms of accommodation. Could the Shah have maintained his ground and persisted in the blockade into which the siege had been virtually converted, the whole contest would have been reduced to a question of time—Which of the two parties would first have failed to obtain the necessary supplies of food and ammunition? It may seem that the besieged, cooped up within their walls, and threatened both with famine and pestilence, must have been compelled to succumb. On the other hand, the Shah had suffered severely in carrying on the siege. One winter, necessarily entailing the severest privations, had been endured, and midsummer had arrived without bringing any prospect of a successful issue. Numerous losses had been sustained in actual conflict, a still greater number by desertion and disease, and the communications with Persia were daily becoming more and more difficult by the pillaging hordes interposed between it and the camp. The treasury too was exhausted, and the promises of Count Simonich to replenish it were too vague and uncertain to be trusted to. Under such circumstances, to continue the siege, even assuming it to be practicable, was little short of madness. Sooner or later, discomfiture, if not absolute ruin, would ensue. Though unable to conceal the truth from himself, the Shah was too obstinate to yield of his own accord, and incur the disgrace of raising the siege, but his anxiety for renewed negotiation proved how willing he would be of any decent pretext for withdrawing. With such a pretext he was now furnished.

British ex-
pedition to
the Persian
Gulf

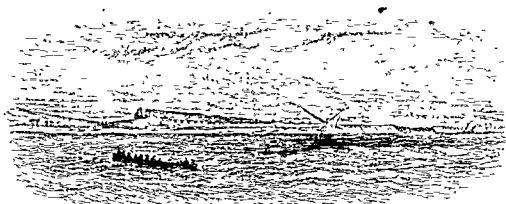
Previous to the departure of Mr. McNeill from the Persian camp, the attention of the Indian government had been earnestly directed to the siege of Herat, and to the supposed dangers to which its fall would expose our Indian empire. As early as the 1st of May, 1838, the governor-general in a letter addressed to Mr. McNeill, after stating his belief "that the state of our relations with Persia is at the present moment exceedingly critical," suggested that it might prove of "very essential aid" to his negotiations, "were as many cruisers as can be saved for the service, together with a regiment of native infantry, despatched to the Persian Gulf to hold themselves in readiness for any service" on which it might be deemed expedient to employ them, "with a view to the maintenance of our interests in Persia." Without waiting for an answer, Lord Auckland had at once acted on this suggestion, by instructing the Bombay government to fit out and despatch the proposed expedition, "at the earliest practicable period." Little time was lost, and on the 19th of June the expedition arrived in the neighbourhood of Bushire, and landed the troops, amounting in all to 387, on the island of Karrak. No opposition was offered, the governor on being informed "that the British government had sent up a body of troops upon a special service, and that the island of Karrak, on account of the salubrity of its climate, had been chosen for their place of residence," simply replying, "that the island, its inhabitants, and everything it contained, were entirely at our disposal."

A.D. 1838.

British expedition to the Persian Gulf.

Some additional troops and stores were afterwards landed, but the so-called demonstration continued to be to the last a very paltry affair. Such however was not the opinion formed of it by those who only heard of it at a distance, and it was generally spoken of as a serious and formidable invasion, which had probably for its object the overthrow of the existing Persian dynasty.

The Shah, in one of the last interviews which Mr. McNeill had with him before quitting the camp, had offered to raise the siege of Herat and conclude a treaty with its ruler, provided he was furnished "with such a reason for concluding that arrangement, as might enable him to relinquish with honour the enterprise in which he was engaged," and he himself proposed "that the British



Island of KARAK.—After a sketch by A. Harrison, Indian Navy.

government should threaten him if he did not return," and "that this threat should be conveyed in writing, that he might have it in his power to show the document as an evidence that he had not lightly abandoned the expedition he had undertaken." The document furnished by Mr. McNeill, in compliance with this request, was entitled, "Memorandum of the demands of the British government, presented to the Shah," and was in the following terms:—"1st, That the Persian government shall conclude an equitable arrangement with the government of Herat, and shall cease to weaken and disturb these countries. 2d, That the Persian government, according to the stipulations of the general treaty, shall conclude a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and that it shall place the commercial agents of Great Britain on the same footing with respect to privileges, &c., as the consuls of other powers. 3d, That the persons who seized and ill-treated Ali Mahomed Beg, a messenger of the British mission, shall be punished, and that a firman shall be issued, such as may prevent the recurrence of so flagrant a violation of the laws and customs of nations. 4th, That the Persian government shall publicly abandon the pretension it has advanced, to a right to seize and punish the Persian servants of the British mission, without reference to the British minister. 5th, That the governor of Bushire, who threatened the safety of the British resident there, shall be removed; that the other persons concerned in that transaction shall be punished, and that

Terms demanded by the British government from the Shah.

villages where tigers have possession, and spread commerce and navigation upon waters which have hitherto been barren, than take one inch of territory from his neighbours, or sanction the march of armies for the acquisition of kingdoms; yet that he feels strong in military means, and that with an army of 100,000 men under European officers in Bengal, and with 100,000 more whom he might call to his aid from Madras and Bombay, he can with ease repel every aggression and punish every enemy." Such being the case, it might have been supposed that the governor-general deemed it unnecessary to give himself any concern with what might be passing beyond his own frontier, and had therefore instructed Mr. Macnaghten to intimate to Runjeet Sing that he was determined not to interfere in any way with Afghanistan. The chiefs must settle their feuds in their own way, and the monarch of Lahore was welcome to conquer them if he could. In the extract of the instructions printed by government, there is nothing to show that this was not their purport, but in the additional extract given by Mr. Kaye from the MS. records, in his excellent *History of the War in Afghanistan*, more explicit information is afforded, and we gain an insight into the kind of policy which was about to be adopted. After listening to all the Maharajah "has to say," or "in the event of his showing no disposition to commence the conference," you can, continues Mr. Torrens, "state to him the views of your own government." These views embraced two alternative courses of proceeding. The one "that the treaty formerly executed between his highness and Shah Shujah should be recognized by the British government," and that "whilst the Sikhs advanced cautiously on Cabool, accompanied by British agents, a demonstration should be made by a division of the British army occupying Shikarpoor, with Shah Shujah in their company, to whom the British government would advance money to enable him to levy troops and purchase arms." The other course was "to allow the Maharajah to take his own course against Dost Mahomed Khan, without any reference to us."

A D. 1838.

Instructions
furnished
to Mr Mac-
naghten.

Runjeet Sing, when the two courses were submitted to him, had no difficulty in arriving at a decision. Independent action he would have nothing to do with, and the plan by which he was to act in concert with the British government was the only one which he could think of adopting. Notwithstanding this verbal acceptance, which was given on the 3d of June, 1838, the terms of the treaty, called tripartite, because Runjeet Sing, Shah Shujah, and the British government, represented by the governor-general, were parties to it, were not arranged without considerable difficulty. The Sikhs were constantly grasping at new advantages, and did not desist till a significant hint had been given that the British government might think it necessary to act independently. Even Shah Shujah, when the proposed arrangements were submitted to him, though he was naturally delighted at the prospect of regaining a throne, from which he had to all appearance been finally excluded, could not help remonstrating against the lion's share set apart for Runjeet Sing. Not only was he

Runjeet
Sing's grasp-
ing policy

haunted him, and it was that others would attempt to do the work for him, instead of allowing him to achieve it for himself. His countrymen were too proud and jealous of their independence to tolerate a foreign invader, and therefore it was essential, if not to his success, at least to the future stability of his government, that he should make his appearance in Afghanistan at the head of an army which he could call his own, because raised by him, paid by him, and commanded in his name. The first thing necessary therefore was to commence the formation of such an army. This was no easy task. Money being supplied in abundance, there was no lack of recruits, but the great difficulty was to make it appear that they were in any sense the troops of Shah Shujah. The work of raising and disciplining them was necessarily committed to British officers, who were alone capable of performing it, while the small proportion which the natives of Afghanistan bore to the whole mass collected, made it ludicrous to speak of it as an Afghan force. Shah Shujah, who was well aware, and had distinctly declared that "the fact of his being upheld by foreign force alone could not fail to detract, in a great degree, from his dignity and consequence," did his best to save appearances by taking an open and active part in whatever related to the organization of his army; by appearing often on parade, where the honours due to sovereignty were regularly paid to him, and by causing all proceedings of a military nature to be formally and ostentatiously reported to him. These semblances, however, imposed upon no one; the real fact was too apparent; and the new levies, having nothing of a national character belonging to them, continued to be regarded as his only by a misnomer. They would still therefore have been detested by the Afghans as foreign intruders, even if they had been able by themselves alone to carry him in triumph to Cabool. Of this, however, they were totally incapable, and it soon became manifest that success was hopeless, unless the British, instead of acting merely as auxiliaries, were prepared to bear the brunt of the contest.

A.D. 1838
Nature of
army raised
by Shah
Shujah.

Small pro-
portion of
Afghans in-
cluded in it



SHAH SHUJAH - UL - MOOLK
After a sketch by G. T. Vigne

The governor-general, when he gave the instructions to Mr. Macnaghten, did not seem to contemplate the employment of British troops further than to make a demonstration by occupying Shikarpoor. Sir Henry Fane, the commander-in-chief, who had a better knowledge of the nature of the hostilities about to be waged, insisted that the expedition should be on an adequate scale, and that for this purpose a complete and formidable army was absolutely required. His

A D 1838

British pre-
parations
for an Af-
ghan war

opinion prevailed, and accordingly "the army of the Indus" began to be talked of. Shah Shujah and his levies were still to take the lead, but a British army, following close upon their steps, was to cross the Indus and direct its march upon Candahar. The preparations were accordingly commenced on this magnified scale, and in August, 1838, the different regiments intended to be employed were warned for field service. Both the Bengal and the Bombay presidencies were to furnish quotas. The army of the former, under the personal command of Sir Henry Fane, was to rendezvous at Kurnal, situated near the right bank of the Jumna, about seventy-eight miles north of Delhi. The Bombay army, under the command of Sir John Keane, was to be conveyed by sea to the coast of Scinde, and then proceed upwards along the Indus to effect a junction with the Bengal army.

Lord Auck-
land ex-
plains his
policy

Though these preparations had been begun, Lord Auckland had not yet communicated his intentions explicitly to the home authorities. This was now done in a letter to the secret committee, dated 13th August, 1838. Knowing generally the views entertained by the British ministry, he had good ground for anticipating their approval, but deemed it necessary notwithstanding to enter at some length into a justification of his new policy. "Of the course about to be pursued," he says, "there cannot exist a reasonable doubt. We owe it to our own safety to assist the lawful sovereign of Afghanistan in the recovery of his throne. The welfare of our possessions in the East requires that we should, in the present crisis of affairs, have a decidedly friendly power on our frontiers, and that we should have an ally who is interested in resisting aggression and establishing tranquillity, in place of a chief seeking to identify himself with those whose schemes of aggrandizement and conquest are not to be disguised. The Barukzye chiefs, from their disunion, weakness, and unpopularity, were ill-fitted, under any circumstances, to be useful allies, or to aid us in our just and necessary views of resisting encroachment from the westward." Referring afterwards to the great expense that will necessarily be incurred, he thinks this consideration must "be held comparatively light when contrasted with the magnitude of the object to be gained," and then speaks of his own responsibility. "I have acted in a crisis which has suddenly arisen, and at a period when appearances in every quarter were the most threatening to the tranquillity of the British Indian empire, in the manner which has seemed to me essential to insure the safety, and to assert the power and dignity of our government. I have, in adopting this step, been deeply sensible of the responsibility which it places on me; but I have felt, after the most anxious deliberation, that I could not otherwise acquit myself of my trust." On this subject of responsibility it may suffice here to mention that the mind of the governor-general must soon have been set at rest. Sir John Hobhouse, now Lord Broughton, stated in the House of Commons, when the expediency and justice of the Afghan war were strongly questioned, that Lord Auckland "must not bear the blame of the

measure; it was the policy of the government; and he might mention that the despatch which he wrote (he was then president of the Board of Control), stating his opinion of the course that ought to be taken in order to meet expected emergencies, and that written by Lord Auckland, informing him that the expedition had already been undertaken, crossed each other on the way." A D 1838.

After the above communication to the British government, another of great importance still remained to be made. It was necessary that there should be no misapprehension in any quarter as to the grounds and objects of this new war. This could only be provided against by a full exposition made patent to all the world, and accordingly, on the 1st of October, 1838, a document, since designated the "Simla manifesto," was published under the more modest title of "Declaration on the part of the right honourable the Governor-general of India." Its length will not allow us to give it in full, but its importance in itself, the discussion which it originated, and the historical interest which still attaches to it, will not allow it to be passed over slightly. Its object, as announced in its first paragraph, was publicly to expound the "reasons" which have led to the "important measure" of directing "the assemblage of a British force for service across the Indus." After referring to the treaties made in 1832 with the rulers along the line of that river, and which had for their object, by opening its navigation, "to facilitate the extension of commerce, and to gain for the British nation in Asia that legitimate influence which an interchange of benefits would naturally produce," it proceeds to notice the mission of Captain Burnes to Cabool. The original objects of this mission were purely commercial, and contemplated nothing further than inviting "the aid of the *de facto* rulers of Afghanistan to the measures necessary for giving full effect to those treaties." Before the mission had reached its destination, intelligence arrived that "the troops of Dost Mahomed Khan had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on those of our ancient ally, Maharajah Runjeet Sing," and there was therefore reason to apprehend that "the flames of war being once kindled in the very regions in which we were endeavouring to extend our commerce, the peaceful and beneficial purposes of the British government would be altogether frustrated." The governor-general, "to avert a result so calamitous," authorized an intimation to Dost Mahomed, that "if he would evince a disposition to come to just and reasonable terms," he would exert his good offices "for the restoration of an amicable understanding between the two powers." The result was that the Maharajah, "with the characteristic confidence which he has uniformly placed in the faith, and friendship of the British nation," consented that, "in the meantime, hostilities on his part should be suspended." Subsequently it became known to the governor-general that the Persians were besieging Herat, and that "intrigues were actively prosecuted throughout Afghanistan for the purpose of extending Persian influence and authority to the banks of, and even beyond the Indus." Meanwhile, the mission to Cabool was spending much time The Simla manifesto.

Its contents

A.D. 1839

Principal
subjects em-
braced in
the Simla
manifesto

"in fruitless negotiation." Dost Mahomed, relying "upon Persian encouragement and assistance," urged "the most unreasonable pretensions" in regard to the Sikhs, "avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India, and "openly threatened, in furtherance of those schemes, to call in every foreign aid which he could command," making it evident that "so long as Cabool remained under his government, we could never hope that the tranquillity of our neighbourhood would be secured, or that the interests of our Indian empire would be preserved inviolate." Returning to the siege of Herat, the governor-general's declaration proceeds as follows:—"The siege of that city has now been carried on by the Persian army for many months. The attack upon it was a most unjustifiable and cruel aggression, perpetrated and continued, notwithstanding the solemn and repeated remonstrances of the British envoy at the court of Persia, and after every just and becoming offer of accommodation had been made and rejected. The besieged have behaved with a gallantry and fortitude worthy of the justice of their cause; and the governor-general would yet indulge the hope that their heroism may enable them to maintain a successful defence until succours shall reach them from British India." While Persia has thus been evincing her hostility so as to compel the cessation of all friendly intercourse with her government, the chiefs of Candahar, brothers of Dost Mahomed, "have avowed their adherence to the Persian policy." In this crisis of affairs, while the governor-general "felt the importance of taking immediate measures for arresting the rapid progress of foreign intrigue and aggression towards our own territories," his attention was naturally drawn "to the position and claims of Shah Shujah-ul-Moolk, a monarch who, when in power, had cordially acceded to the measures of united resistance to external enmity, which were at that time judged necessary by the British government, and who, on his empire being usurped by its present rulers, had found an honourable asylum in the British dominions." Though aware "that the Barukzye chiefs, from their disunion and unpopularity, were ill fitted, under any circumstances, to be useful allies," yet, so long as they refrained from proceedings injurious to our interests and security, the British government acknowledged and respected their authority. Now, however, a different policy is indispensable, and we must have on our western frontier "an ally who is interested in resisting aggression and establishing tranquillity, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power, and seeking to promote schemes of conquest and aggrandizement." The governor-general therefore "was satisfied that a pressing necessity as well as every consideration of policy and justice warranted us in espousing the cause of Shah Shujah-ul-Moolk, "whose popularity throughout Afghanistan" has been proved "by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities." After this determination it seemed "just and proper, no less from the position of Maharajah Runjeet Sing than from his undeviating friendship towards the

British government, that his highness should have the offer of becoming a party to the contemplated operations," and the result has been "the conclusion of a triplicate treaty by the British government, the Maharajah, and Shah Shujah-ul-Moolk, whereby his highness is guaranteed in his present possessions, and has bound himself to co-operate for the restoration of the Shah to the throne of his ancestors." The declaration next refers to various points which had been adjusted, and promises that "a guaranteed independence will, upon favourable conditions, be tendered to the Ameers of Scinde," and that "the integrity of Herat, in the possession of its present ruler, will be fully respected." From all these measures, "completed or in progress, it may reasonably be hoped that the general freedom and security of commerce will be promoted; that the name and just influence of the British government will gain their proper footing among the nations of Central Asia; that tranquillity will be established upon the most important frontier of India; and that a lasting barrier will be raised against hostile intrigue and encroachment." The concluding paragraph of the declaration is not unworthy of being quoted *verbatim*:—

A.D. 1878.

Contents of
the Simla
manifesto.

"His majesty Shah Shujah-ul-Moolk will enter Afghanistan, surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference and factious opposition by a British army. The governor-general confidently hopes, that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents; and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn. The governor-general has been led to these measures by the duty which is imposed upon him, of providing for the security of the possessions of the British crown; but he rejoices that in the discharge of his duty he will be enabled to assist in restoring the union and prosperity of the Afghan people. Throughout the approaching operations, British influence will be sedulously employed to further every measure of general benefit, to reconcile differences, to secure oblivion of injuries, and to put an end to the distractions by which for so many years the welfare and happiness of the Afghans have been impaired. Even to the chiefs, whose hostile proceedings have given just cause of offence to the British government, it will seek to secure liberal and honourable treatment on their tendering early submission, and ceasing from opposition to the course of measures which may be judged the most suitable for the general advantage of their country."

Its conclu-
sion.

To the declaration was appended a list of appointments, of which it is necessary only to notice that of Mr. Macnaghten, secretary to government, who was to "assume the functions of envoy and minister on the part of the government of India at the court of Shah Shujah-ul-Moolk," and that of Captain Burnes, who was to "be employed, under Mr. Macnaghten's directions, as envoy to the chief of Kelat or other states." The former appointment must have been conferred in accordance with Mr. Macnaghten's wishes, and may be con-

Appoint-
ments of
Macnaghten
and Burnes

A D 1838

Appoint-
ments of
Macnaghten
and Burnes

sidered as an instance of that vaulting ambition, which too often tempts men to quit the station for which they are best qualified, and grasp at another, for which they are totally unfitted by nature or experience. The second appointment was not accepted without some degree of reluctance, and was regarded as less an honour than a disappointment. Captain Burnes, in writing to a friend on the subject of the "grand campaign," which, on his return from Cabool, he had been invited to assist in planning, says, "What exact part I am to play I know not, but if full confidence and hourly consultation be any pledge I am to be chief. I can plainly tell them, it is *aut Caesar aut nullus*, and if I get not what I have a right to, you will soon see me *en route* to England." Of course the appointment he meant was that of political chief. Instead of this, to be gazetted as only a subordinate envoy to a comparatively insignificant khanat of Beloochistan, or "other states," so little known or thought of that a name could not be given to them, was such a descent, that he did not hesitate to express his dissatisfaction. Lord Auckland succeeded in soothing him by promises, which though vague were understood to mean, that after seating Shah Shujah at Cabool, Mr Macnaghten would return to his former office, and be succeeded by him in the chiefship. To such an arrangement Burnes was the more easily reconciled, because, as he himself expressed it, "I am not sorry to see Dost Mahomed ousted by another hand than mine." Why so? Obviously because he felt that Dost Mahomed did not deserve the treatment to which he was about to be subjected.

The Simla
manifesto
criticized.

This opinion was shared by many besides Captain Burnes, and was one cause of the severe criticism which the Simla manifesto provoked, and which, it must be confessed, it was ill fitted to bear. According to the governor-general, the Sikhs, who had seized Peshawar as they had previously seized Cashmere, by gross treachery, were entirely in the right; the Afghans, in endeavouring to regain it, were wholly in the wrong; and the only thing wanting to insure peace was, that Dost Mahomed "should evince a disposition to come to just and reasonable terms with the Maharajah." So far from evincing such a disposition, his troops "had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on those of our ancient ally," and he persisted "in urging the most unreasonable pretensions"—pretensions so unreasonable, that the governor-general could not, "consistently with justice and his regard for the friendship of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, be the channel of submitting them to the consideration of his highness." These statements of the manifesto are absolutely preposterous. They are not only not in accordance with fact, but fly in the very face of it, and therefore in so far as the determination to oust Dost Mahomed was founded on them, they can only be viewed as false pretexts, framed for the purpose of perpetrating gross injustice. The next charge which the manifesto brings against Dost Mahomed is, if possible, still more unfounded. "He avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition;" he "openly threatened, in furtherance

of those schemes, to call in every foreign aid which he could command," and "ultimately, he gave his undisguised support to the Persian designs in Afghanistan." Where does all this appear? Certainly not in any part of the correspondence giving an account of the proceedings of the mission. He certainly desired the restoration of Peshawer, but he was willing to accept it however hampered it might be by conditions. He had no wish to go to war for it. On the contrary, he confessed that he had no forces to cope with those of Runjeet Sing, and therefore implored the friendly offices of the governor-general to procure it for him by amicable arrangement. What was the answer? Runjeet Sing, having gained possession of Peshawer, means to keep it, and you must cease to hope that it ever can become yours. There the matter rested. But he threatened to call in every foreign aid he could command. Where again does this appear? He courted an alliance with the British government, and was so eager to obtain it, that so long as there was the least hope of success, he turned a deaf ear to all the flattering promises of Persian and Russian agents. Only give me a little encouragement, is his language to the governor-general. I wish no friendship but yours; only assure me that if the Persians or any other western power attack me, I may rely on your protection. Look again at the answer. You should be ashamed to ask protection against the Persians, as you should be able enough to protect yourself. At all events, the British government will not promise to protect you. It will only promise to intercede with Runjeet Sing not to resume hostilities, and in return for this act of friendship, it expects that you will form no alliance without its sanction, and in particular that you will forthwith dismiss the Russian agent, and reject all Persian overtures. Were not all this contained in the published correspondence, it would scarcely be possible to believe that these were the only terms which the governor-general offered. Dost Mahomed, on being guaranteed from an attack by Runjeet Sing, a favour which, as no such attack was apprehended, was absolutely worthless, was to bind himself hand and foot to the British government, and fight its battles single-handed, by interposing his territories as a barrier between Persia and India. The hostility of Persia and of Russia he would thus almost to a certainty provoke, but, be this as it may, he must not expect the least assistance. Nothing can be more monstrous than the terms thus offered to Dost Mahomed, unless it be the complaint of the manifesto, that "ultimately," on finding himself dealt with in this grossly unfair and niggardly spirit, "he gave his undisguised support to the Persian designs."

The case which the manifesto sought to establish against Dost Mahomed having completely broken down, the measures founded upon it admit of no justification, and it is therefore the less necessary to enter into any detailed examination of the other grounds on which the governor-general attempts to justify his projected invasion of Afghanistan, and subversion of its existing government. The only points deserving of notice are the assertions of the

A D 1833.

Reflections
on the Simla
manifesto.Inconsistent
procedure
of the
governor-
general.

A.D. 1839

The siege of
Herat by
Persia not
unjustifi-
able.

manifesto respecting the siege of Herat, and the expediency of setting up Shah Shujah. The attack upon Herat is described as "a most unjustifiable and cruel aggression." The meaning must be that the ruler of Herat had done nothing to provoke it, and that on the part of the Persians it was "perpetrated and continued" in mere wantonness, without the shadow of an excuse. This view is by no means correct, and is totally at variance with numerous statements contained in the correspondence relating to Persia and Afghanistan presented to parliament, and ordered to be printed in 1839. In a memorandum submitted by Mr. Ellis to Lord Palmerston in the beginning of 1836, he acknowledges that the conduct of Kamran in violating his engagements with the Persian government "has given the Shah a full justification for commencing hostilities." So indisputable does he hold the fact to be, that in a letter to Kamran himself he tells him he "has learned with extreme sorrow that in consequence of failure in the performance of engagements," the Shah "intends to seek redress by force of arms, and to invade the territory of Herat," and he therefore, both as a friend and "as the representative of the British government," strongly advises him to avert the calamities of war, by sending a proper person to the Shah, "both to compliment his majesty on his succession, and to assure him that all the engagement which he has contracted shall without further delay be completely fulfilled." Mr. M'Neill, who succeeded Mr. Ellis, took the same view, and expressed it still more strongly. In a despatch to Lord Palmerston, dated 24th February, 1837, after mentioning that on the death of the Abbas Meerza "negotiations were entered into, which terminated in the conclusion of an agreement for the cessation of hostilities between the parties, and the demarcation of a line of boundary," he continues thus, "From that time up to the present moment Persia has committed no act of hostility against the Afghans; but on the death of the late Shah, the government of Herat made predatory incursions into the Persian territories, in concert with the Turcomans and Hazareks, and captured the subjects of Persia, for the purpose of selling them as slaves. This system of warfare has from that time been carried on without intermission by the Afghans of Herat, and Persia has not retaliated these acts of aggression by any hostile measure, unless the public annunciation of its intention to attack Herat should be regarded as such. Under these circumstances there cannot, I think, be a doubt that the Shah is fully justified in making war on Prince Kamran; and though the capture of Herat by Persia would certainly be an evil of great magnitude, we could not wonder if the Shah were to disregard our remonstrances, and to assert his right to make war on an enemy who has given him the greatest provocation, and whom he may regard himself as bound in duty to his subjects to punish, or even to put down." In the face of such documents, is it not strange that Lord Auckland and his advisers could commit themselves to the statement that the attack on Herat was "an unjustifiable and cruel aggression?" That it was impolitic, the event

Opinion of
Mr. M'Neill

proved, and that its success, more especially after Russia had begun to take the lead in it, would have seriously compromised British interests, may be readily conceded; but surely in order to justify the determination to march to the relief of Herat, it could not be necessary to make assertions which were false, and could so easily be disproved.

The only other point in the manifesto to which it may be proper to advert, is the alleged popularity of Shah Shujah in Afghanistan. His popularity, it is affirmed, "had been proved to his lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities." Who were these? First and superior to all testimony was the fact that Shah Shujah had repeatedly attempted to regain his throne, but was so feebly supported, and so formidably opposed, that he only saved himself by flight, to return an almost solitary fugitive to the asylum granted him by British generosity at Loodiana. Against this fact, unless some extraordinary change of public feeling had since taken place (and this was not alleged), the testimony of the best authorities ought not to have prevailed. Besides, unless the governor-general was in possession of testimony which he did not deem it necessary or proper to communicate, the correspondence, in which the best authorities might have been expected fully to disclose their sentiments, does anything but bear "strong and unanimous testimony" to Shah Shujah's popularity. It is unnecessary, however, to discuss the point further, as future events only too clearly proved that the idea of this popularity, on the faith of which the manifesto expresses a confident hope "that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents," was mere delusion.

It thus appears that the Simla manifesto is little better than a tissue of unjust accusations, gross mis-statements, and vain imaginations, and that the hostilities about to be commenced, however triumphant they might prove, could not be justified on grounds either of justice or expediency. War engaged in under such circumstances was at once a blunder and a crime, and a successful result being at variance with the moral laws by which Providence governs the world, could hardly be anticipated. At the same time there were other considerations connected with the war itself which gave it a very ominous appearance. The nature of the country in which it was to be carried on; the turbulence, ferocity, and boldness of the semi-barbarous tribes which occupied it; its immense distance, which made it impossible to reach it till after a long and toilsome march over desert tracts, and through deep, narrow, and precipitous gorges, which a band of resolute men might close against an army; the almost insurmountable difficulty of transporting supplies and keeping open the communication with the districts from which they must necessarily be drawn—all these things made it very questionable if the invading army would ever reach Cabool. But assuming that it did, what then? "If you send 27,000 men up the Durra-i-Bolan to Candahar," wrote Mr. Elphinstone, "and can feed them, I have no

A.D. 1833

Shah Shujah's alleged popularity

True character of Lord Auckland's Afghan policy

A.D. 1833

Difficulties
of an Afghan
campaign

doubt you will take Candahar and Cabool, and set up Shujah; but for maintaining him in a poor, cold, strong, and remote country, among a turbulent people like the Afghans, I own it seems to me to be hopeless." And what said the Duke of Wellington?—"The consequence of crossing the Indus once to settle a government in Afghanistan will be a perennial march into that country." The die however had been cast; and so little were the difficulties appreciated even in high quarters that, according to the celebrated and lamented Sir Henry Havelock, who took part in the campaign and published an excellent account of its earlier stage, "a civil functionary distinguished for talent addressing an officer of rank assured him that our advance into Afghanistan would be no more than a *promenade militaire*."

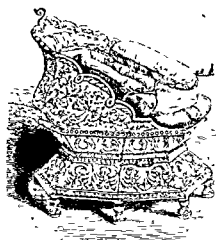
Interview
between the
governor
general and
Runjeet
Sing

The Bengal portion of the army of the Indus, than which, says Havelock, "a force has never been brought together in any country in a manner more creditable and soldier-like," after assembling at Kurnal, marched westward to Ferozepoor, situated on the Garra, about thirty miles S S E. of Lahore, in the end of November. The governor-general and Runjeet Sing arrived here by previous appointment at the same time, and relieved their more grave political discussions by what Havelock calls "showy pageants, gay doings, and feats of mimic war." Lord Auckland's camp was about four miles from the Garra, and consisted of a wide street of large tents, in the centre of which was the suite of lofty and spacious apartments of canvas used for the *darbar*. On the 28th of November he was visited by the Maharajah. The etiquette pursued on the occasion and the whole scene are thus described by Havelock:—"There is an established ceremonial on these occasions. An escort of all arms usually lines the space between the pavilions for some hundred yards, and the elephants of the British *suwarree* are drawn up in front of the *darbar* tent." On the approach of the Maharajah, announced by a salute of ordnance, "the British *suwarree* moved forward a few yards to pay the compliment of the *istighal*, as it is called, or initiative advance in meeting, both *suwarrees* having halted for a moment before this courteous concession was made. Lord Auckland, habited in a blue coat embroidered with gold, and wearing the ribbon of the Bath, his secretaries in the showy diplomatic costume of similar colour and richness, Sir Henry Fane in the uniform of a general officer covered with orders, the tallest and most stately person in the whole procession of both nations, the numerous staffs of the civil ruler and military chief in handsome uniforms, made altogether a gallant show, as their animals with a simultaneous rush, urged by the blows and voices of the *mohauts*, moved to the front. Forward to meet them, there came on a noisy and disorderly though gorgeous rabble of Sikh horse and footmen, shouting out the titles of their great Sirdar, some habited in glittering brocade, some in the *busunttee*, or bright spring yellow dresses which command so much respect in the Punjab, some wearing chain armour. But behind these clamorous foot and cavaliers, were the elephants

of the Lord of Lahore; and seated on the foremost was seen an old man in an advanced stage of decrepitude, clothed in faded crimson, his head wrapped up in folds of cloth of the same colour. His single eye still lighted up with the fire of enterprise, his gray hair and beard, and countenance of calm design, assured the spectators that this could be no other than the old 'Lion of the Punjab.' The shock of elephants at the moment of meeting is really terrific. More than a hundred of these active and sagacious but enormous animals, goaded on by their drivers in contrary directions, are suddenly brought to a stand-still by the collision of opposing fronts and foreheads. This is the most interesting moment; for now the governor-general, rising up in his howdah, approaches that of Runjeet, returns his salam, embraces him, and taking him by the arm, and supporting his tottering frame, places him by his side on his own elephant. All this is managed amidst the roaring, trumpeting, pushing and crushing of impetuous and gigantic animals, and then the one-eyed monarch having cordially shaken hands with Sir Henry Fane, and every one of the two suites whom he recognized (as the parties to receive his lordly greeting leant over the railing of their lofty vehicles), the beast which bore the burden of the two rulers was with difficulty wheeled about in the crowd, and the whole of both suwarrees rushed tumultuously and *pêle mêle* after it towards the entrance of the durbar tent."

A.D. 1838

Interview
between the
governor-
general and
Runjeet
Sing



GOLDEN THRONE OF RUNJEET SING.
From the original in Museum, East India House

A strange incident closed the scene. "In a retired part of the suite of tents, were placed two very handsome, well-cast howitzers, intended as complimentary gifts to the Sikh ruler. These he came forth from the council tent, supported by Sir Henry Fane, to see. The light in the recesses of these spacious pavilions was glimmering and crepuscular, and the aged Maharajah, heedless of the shells which were piled in pyramids below, was stepping up towards the muzzles of the guns, when his feet tripped amid the spherical missiles, and in a moment he lay prostrate on his face and at full length upon the floor in front of the cannon. The kind and prompt exertions of Sir Henry replaced him instantaneously on his legs: but the spectacle of the Lord of the Punjab extended in involuntary obeisance before the mouths of the British artillery, was regarded by the Sikhs as a picture of fearful omen." In the death of Runjeet Sing shortly afterwards, and subsequent events which resulted in the extinction of Sikh independence, the omen must have seemed to them signally fulfilled.

Omen
va
accident
to Runjeet
Sing.

¹ This very interesting relic was brought from Lahore. It is made of thin plates of gold, beautifully ornamented with arabesques of flowers, fas-

tened on to a framework of wood. The cushions and lining to the throne are of crimson and yellow velvet.

A D 1838

Festivities
at Feroze
poor

The counter-visit of the governor-general to the Maharajah, and the entertainment and amusements following upon it, need not be described. It would give little pleasure to tell how groups of *kunchunees*, whom Havelock does not hesitate to call "choral and dancing prostitutes," performed "in presence of the ladies of the family of a British governor-general," and how Runjeet Sing, who was "brutally pre-eminent among Punjabees in his vices," sat on his musnud jesting familiarly with all who approached him, and pressing, almost forcing upon his illustrious guests "potations from his own cup of the fiery distilled spirit, which he himself had quaffed with delight for some forty years," but which "the hardest drinker in the British camp could not with impunity indulge in" for six successive nights. Nor is it necessary to dwell on the grand reviews, in which "the tactics and warlike forces of both nations were displayed to the best advantage, on two several days of martial exercise." Suffice it to quote the observation with which Havelock concludes his account of the Ferozepoor festivities. "It was the policy of the hour to humour and caress the old ruler of the Punjab, who with all his faults was now to be regarded as a valuable ally; and since he had come from his capital down to the Garra to meet us, might in some sort be reckoned, either on the one bank or the other, as a visitor. But it was impossible not to feel that this complaisance was carried a little too far, when he was exhibited in the character of a Bacchus or Silenus urging others to take part in his orgies, in the presence of an assemblage of English gentlewomen, and when these notions of decency were further outraged by the introduction, to whatever extent sanctioned by culpable usage in other parts of India, of bands of singing and dancing courtezans."

Afghan ex-
pedition
perpetrated in
after raising
of the siege
of Herat

The whole of the force which had been assembled for the invasion of Afghanistan was not destined to be actually employed. After all the preparations had been made, on the understanding that it would be necessary to march to the relief of Herat, and there encounter a Persian army, aided perhaps by Russian auxiliaries, intelligence arrived that the siege of Herat was raised. One main inducement to the commencement of hostilities had ceased to exist, and the question immediately arose, whether the whole expedition might not now be abandoned. The governor-general, who appears to have become as resolute as he was at first hesitating, lost no time in setting this question at rest, by publishing orders which commenced with an extract from the letter of Colonel Stoddart, announcing that the siege was raised, and then proceeded as follows:—"In giving publicity to this important intelligence, the governor-general deems it proper at the same time to notify, that while he regards the relinquishment by the Shah of Persia of his hostile designs upon Herat as a just cause of congratulation to the government of British India and its allies, he will continue to prosecute with vigour the measures which have been announced, with a view to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan, and to the establishment of a permanent barrier upon our

north-west frontier." The orders conclude with the appointment of Eldred A.D. 1838.
 Pottinger as political agent, and a well-deserved compliment to him for the "fortitude, ability, and judgment" with which, "under circumstances of peculiar danger and difficulty," he had "honourably sustained the reputation and interests of his country." In a letter to the secret committee, Lord Auckland justifies his determination to persevere, on the ground that it "was required from us, alike in observance of the treaties into which I had entered with the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, and his majesty Shah Shujah-ul-Moolk, and by paramount considerations of defensive policy."

Orders issued by Lord Auckland.

The campaign, however, having been deprived of one of the most important objects originally contemplated by it, did not require to be conducted on the same extensive scale. The British army assembled at Ferozepoor amounted to about 13,000 men. It was now determined that of these only 7500 should be actually employed. Sir Henry Fane, whose health had begun to fail, resolved, in consequence of the altered state of affairs, to resign his command and return to England. Previous to his departure, it became part of his duty to select the troops which were to proceed on the expedition. As all the regiments were eager for active service, the task of selection appeared to him so delicate and invidious, that he shrunk from it, and abandoning the exercise of his own judgment had recourse to the extraordinary device of deciding by lot. The process was completed in his Excellency's tent, and the result was announced to be that the 1st, 2d, and 4th brigades were to move forward, and the 3d and 5th remain near the Garra. On this subject Havelock justly remarks, "Sir Henry Fane need not thus have distrusted, nor paid so poor a compliment to his own sagacity and impartiality; the one had seldom been at fault in India or in Europe, and the other was above suspicion." As might have been anticipated, the hap-hazard plan proved as mischievous as it was irrational, for "it sent forward to the labours of the campaign the 13th light infantry (Havelock's own regiment), then, as ever, zealous indeed and full of alacrity, but even at Ferozepoor shattered by disease—the spirit of the soldiers willing, but their physical powers unequal to the task; whilst it doomed to inactivity the Buffs, one of the most effective European corps in India." The whole Force to be employed in Afghan expedition diminished
 army about to be employed in the Afghanistan expedition was now composed as follows: the Bengal force, under Major-general Sir Willoughby Cotton, 9500 men; Shah Shujah's, 6000, and the Bombay force contingent under Sir John Keane, who was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Fane as commander-in-chief, 5600—amounting in all to 21,100. Besides these, a force of about 3000 men was to be stationed in Scinde; and in the north, the Shahzada, Shah Shujah's eldest son, was to head a force of 4800 men, commanded by British officers, under the immediate superintendence of Colonel Wade, and penetrate with it and a Sikh contingent of 6000 through the Khyber Pass to Cabool. This route would also have been the most accessible for the army assembled at Ferozepoor, but Troops selected

A D 1838

First march
of the
Afghan
expedition

it would have been difficult to obtain the consent of Runjeet Sing, who with all his professed confidence in the British had not entirely divested himself of suspicion, and it was moreover necessary to select the route by which the meditated junction with the Bombay division might be most easily effected. Shah Shujah's army, in order to give it the precedence which he was so anxious to claim for it, took the lead and commenced the march southward in the direction of Bahawulpoor, in the first week of December, 1836. On the 10th, a few days later, it was followed by the Bengal army, consisting of the cavalry brigade commanded by Colonel Arnold, the artillery brigade commanded by Major Pew, and the 1st, 2d, and 4th brigades of infantry, commanded respectively by Colonel Sale, Major-general Nott, and Lieutenant-colonel Roberts. The order of march was as follows. The sappers and miners and engineer department were to precede the leading column by never fewer than two marches, improving the line of road as they moved on. Then came the cavalry brigade, followed by the infantry brigades, one after the other on successive days, and the siege train and park. Besides a certain quantity of supplies which each column carried with it, the commissariat supplies of all kinds were sufficient for thirty days; additional quantities of grain were sent down the Indus to Roree, and depôts were formed at Bahawulpoor, Shikarpoor, &c. A large reserve depôt was moreover established at Ferozepoor. The camp followers were about 38,000, and the number of camels employed for supplies only was 14,235. Including the other camels, public and private, the whole number accompanying the army could not be less than 50,000. On the 27th of December the army arrived at Bahawulpoor. Little difficulty had been experienced. Though the weather was cold, the air was clear and healthful, the roads good, the country open, and at every stage the supplies were abundant. "These," says Havoclock "were the halcyon days of the movements of this force." The greatest inconvenience experienced was the desertion of followers, who carried off the hired camels, and left their masters without the means of transport. For a large share of this inconvenience the masters had themselves to blame. Though an order of precaution had been issued, most of the officers had too many camels, too large tents, and too much baggage. The consequence was that even in the most favourable part of the march, forage became so difficult that the camels fell off greatly in condition, and the deaths were numerous. Those who had hired out their camels, having thus obtained a slight foretaste of the greater evils awaiting them, took the alarm, and as the most effectual means of escaping danger, resolved not to face it. The propinquity of the desert made it easy for them to effect their purpose, and the utmost vigilance of patrolling parties appointed for the purpose had little effect in preventing desertion. Before six marches had been completed, much private baggage, bedding, and camp equipage, was unavoidably abandoned. The Khan of Bahawulpoor had always been a faithful British ally, and on

The arrival
at Bahawul-
poor

this occasion appears to have excited himself in providing for the comfort of the army, though his means were scarcely adequate to his wishes, and some complaints were unreasonably made against him for not obviating or mitigating evils, which under the circumstances were absolutely inevitable. On the 1st of January, 1839, the army again started, and prepared to enter the territory of the Ameers of Scinde. Treaties already existed, in which the Ameers were recognized as independent princes and the mutual rights of the two governments clearly defined, but Lord Auckland had acted from the first as if he imagined that he had no occasion to solicit wherever he was able to compel, and that a treaty with a weaker gave a right to the stronger party to disregard its stipulations as often as the observance of these was felt to be inconvenient. In defiance of one of the articles on which the Ameers had specially insisted, and in which they felt that their strongest security against any attack on their independence lay, Lord Auckland had addressed a despatch to the resident in Scinde, in which he coolly told him in effect, that he had resolved to commit a breach of faith, and therefore, "while the present exigency lasts, you may apprise the Ameers that the article of the treaty with them, prohibiting the using of the Indus for the conveyance of military stores, must necessarily be suspended during the course of the operations undertaken for the permanent establishment of security to all those who are a party to the treaty." Not satisfied with this arrogant violation of an obligation to which the British government stood solemnly and publicly pledged, he goes on to give a kind of insight into the arrogant and iniquitous course of policy which he was prepared to pursue. It is hardly necessary, he says, "to remind you that in the important crisis at which we are arrived, we cannot permit our enemies to occupy the seat of power; the interests at stake are too great to admit of hesitation in our proceedings; and not only they who have shown a disposition to favour our adversaries, but they who display an unwillingness to aid us in the just and necessary undertaking in which we are engaged, must be displaced, and give way to others on whose friendship and co-operation we may be able implicitly to rely." These menaces are evidently made under an impression that the Ameers were unfriendly, but up to this period at least no proof of hostility had been obtained, and the unfriendliness of their feelings must have been inferred from a consciousness of the unjustifiable treatment to which they had been or were about to be subjected. The above language had been the guide of Colonel Pottinger with the Ameers of Hyderabad, and Captain (now Sir Alexander) Burnes, was dealing in similar style with the Ameers of Khyrpoor. The invading army had fixed upon Bukkur, as the point at which the passage might be most conveniently effected. When this resolution was taken, the sanction of the Ameers had neither been asked nor obtained. Sir Alexander Burnes, however, by the kind of blustering which he well knew how to use when it seemed useful, and of which the governor-general had set a

A.D. 1839.

Difficulties
with the
Ameers of
ScindeLord Auck-
land's mode
of settling
them

A.D. 1839. full example, had little difficulty in obtaining a consent to the route which had been selected. "The Scindian who hoped to stop the approach of the British army, might as well seek to dam up the Indus at Bukkur." But though the Ameers thus intimidated gave way, they stipulated that the forts on either bank of the river were to remain untouched. This was agreed to, and the British diplomatist immediately began to meditate a piece of jesuitry. Bukkur stood on an island in the bed of the river. Was it therefore covered by the stipulation, which only reserved entire possession of the forts on its banks? This was the question which Sir Alexander Burnes put to himself, but he was ashamed or disdained to avail himself of such a palpable quibble, while aware that a compulsory course was open. His object was to obtain the cession of

Threatening
language
addressed to
the Ameers
of Scinde



Fort of Bukkur.—From Kennedy's Campaign on the Indus

Forced
cession of
Bukkur.

Bukkur as the exclusive possession of the British during the war. Meer Roostum, the leading Ameer, finding it hopeless to resist, allowed the cession to be entered in the treaty as a separate article, the knowledge of which he might in the meantime be able to conceal from the other Ameers. When the treaty was sent to him for final ratification, the separate article, to which he had shown the utmost repugnance, filled him anew with alarm. "Bukkur," he said, "was the heart of his country, his honour was centred in keeping it; his family and children would have no confidence if it were given up." He offered another fort in its stead, or to give security that the British treasure and munitions would be protected. Resistance was unavailing, and the old man had no alternative but to attach his signature, the other chiefs looking on, and with difficulty restraining their indignation. Having made this sacrifice, by which he declared that he was irretrievably disgraced, Meer Roostum, surely more in irony than in earnest, asked what he could now do to prove the

sincerity of his friendship to the British government. The answer, said the British diplomatist, was plain. It was "to give us orders for supplies, and to place all the country, as far as he could, at our command." After such a transaction, both parties must have been aware that though the name of friendship might be used, nothing but hostility could be meant, and that the rulers of Scinde would to a certainty avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity of revenge.

Notwithstanding this rankling enmity in the breast of the rulers of Upper Scinde, it was something to have gained the peaceable possession of a strong fort commanding the passage of the Indus and most conveniently situated for a depôt; and therefore when the army resumed its march it was with prospects somewhat improved, because it could now calculate on obtaining a peaceful passage across the river, and thus escaping from what threatened at one time to be one of the serious difficulties of the campaign. Continuing its route to the south-west at no great distance from the left bank of the river, the army arrived on the 14th of January at Subzulcote, the first place lying immediately beyond the Scinde frontier. Here intelligence was received, which seemed to necessitate an alteration in the movements which had been previously concerted. Sir John Keane, who had arrived with his troops off the coast of Scinde in the end of November, 1838, had not been permitted to land without some opposition. With difficulty he made his way to Tattah. He had brought no means of transport with him, and the Ameers, on whose friendly aid he had ventured to calculate, were from feelings which may be easily understood intent only on throwing obstructions in his way. A seasonable though very limited supply of carriage from Cutch enabled him to make some progress, and he advanced up the left bank of the river to Jurruk, only twenty miles S.S.W. of Hyderabad. Here he was obliged to halt. The Ameers of Hyderabad had not yet consented to his passage through their territory, and the negotiations which had been commenced with that view were anything but promising. This was a dilemma for which, though it certainly might have been anticipated, no provision had been made, and the important point was to determine how the oversight was to be remedied. The Bengal army had arrived at Roroe, opposite to Bukkur, and Shah Shujah with his contingent had actually crossed the river and made his way to Shikarpoor, where he had been joined by Mr. Macnaghten and his suite. Both the Shah and the envoy were bent on pushing onward, but Sir Henry Fane, who, with the intention of afterwards descending the Indus and embarking for England, was still accompanying the army as commander-in-chief, was decidedly of opinion that, in order to stimulate the decision of the Ameers and give relief to Sir John Keane, the greater part of the army, instead of crossing the river, should march down towards Hyderabad, under Sir Willoughby Cotton. This change was immediately executed, and the propriety of it seemed shortly afterwards confirmed by a message from Sir

Difficulties
of the
Bombay
division